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Title:
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Music, Emotion, and Subjectivity in the Popular Cinema of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, 1933-1949

Affective Communities: Music, Emotion and Subjectivity in the Popular Cinema of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, 1933-1949

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A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty or Arts.

School of Arts

September 2018

Word Count: 64,472

Abstract

This thesis examines the use of music in the cinema of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union from the perspective of community construction. Each regime promoted its own myth of transcendent national-political communities and filmmaking was linked with the task of affective integration. Emotions were understood to serve an integrative function, whilst also containing the potential to provoke anarchic responses. As such, they required careful management. Whilst all films attempt to achieve certain emotional responses from their audiences, the ideological value placed on the emotions in encouraging affective integration into imagined political communities by the Nazi and Soviet regimes alters the ideological undertones of the films' affective appeals.

Through close analysis of how music functions in films from the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, this thesis reveals a high proportion of song and diegetic musical performances that foreground the affective role of music. It also reveals an attempted management of desire in which music plays a role in guiding the emotional responses of the audience as well as leading the meaning-making processes through intertextual referents and providing continuity and connections between the images represented. This is especially true of death scenes, which reveal anxieties over the representation of death on-screen in both contexts.

In analysing the relationship between music and ideologies of community in the films, this thesis fills a number of significant gaps in the literature. It moves beyond a focus on production history to discuss how music functions in these films, combining film theory with historical research to provide historically-informed readings of the music in films. In addition, the comparative aspect considers whether the films do similar things with music in film and if so, what this might reveal retrospectively about their historical contexts.

Acknowledgements

In 2009 I came to the University of Bristol for an open day. Over the past 9 years in the Department of Music in Bristol, I have had the privilege to meet and get to know many wonderful students and staff who have in one way or another contributed to the writing of this thesis.

My deepest appreciation goes to my supervisors. To Pauline Fairclough, for her continued enthusiasm for the project which kept me going throughout the process, especially during moments of self-doubt and frustration. The attention and support she has provided not only to my thesis but also to my professional development has gone far beyond her role as supervisor. To Guido Heldt, for his insightful and meticulous comments which invariably sent me away from supervisions with new ideas and fresh perspectives. My work has benefited greatly from his input.

Thank you to my examiners Carlo Cenciarelli and Sarah Hibberd for engaging so closely with my work and for a generous and stimulating discussion in my viva.

Many people have contributed informally to this thesis through conversations, commenting on drafts and feedback on presentations. To Argun Çakır, Chris Charles, Katharine Ellis, Will Finch, Sara Garrard, Jonathan Godsall, Kate Guthrie, Emma Hornby, Cecilia Quaintrell, Paul Rouse, Florian Scheding, James Taylor, Sarah Thompson, and Justin Williams, thank you for your patient reading of drafts, your comments, advice, and for your general friendliness. To the wonderful community of staff at the University of Bristol, thank you for all your support and encouragement over the years.

I would like to thank my friends and family who have supported me throughout this process. To Emma, Andrzej and my beautiful godson Nim. And to my family, who have provided love, support and encouragement over the past 28 years. You endured it all with no grumbles: from sleepless nights after receiving panicked and one-sided phone calls to the 9 years and 400 miles of separation I put between us when I chose to move to Bristol. It has been hard and for your unwavering support, I cannot possibly thank you enough.

Lastly, to my partner Sarah for her never-ending patience, care and support over the last three years. This project is as much yours as it is mine.

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: …… DATE: ……..

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A Note on the Transliteration

I have opted for a slightly modified form of the *New Grove* convention for transliteration in the main text, which has widely been adopted by anglophone music scholars. I have not used the familiar spellings of names and so Sergei Eisenstein becomes Sergey Eyzenshteyn. However, I have retained the original system used for sources cited.

A guide can be found at http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/page/GMO-Users-Manual.

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Introduction

> What about the concerted use of sound and music, I find myself wondering, much less the visual innuendoes and the associations created by dissolves, fades, and cuts? […] To concentrate exclusively on themes, trends, and manifest contents is to ignore these films' semiotic complexity. Such an approach assumes meanings as given rather than produced in - and inextricably bound to - audiovisual presentations and public performances.[1]

More than twenty years after Eric Rentschler published *Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and its Afterlife,* from which the above quote is taken, I find myself asking the same questions with regards to music in both Nazi and Soviet cinema. Whilst scholarship on these two national film cultures is continually expanding and diversifying in its approaches, there still appears to be a relative blind spot with regards to how music functions in the films of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union. With English-language scholarship on Nazi and Soviet cinema often carried out by scholars in language or history departments (rather than film or music departments) it is perhaps unsurprising to find that the role of music in the films is often ignored or approached tentatively. Music is often simply described or discussed in relation to its production, rather than analysed in terms of its function within the film.[2] Despite Rentschler's 'call-to-arms,' his own study largely overemphasises the use of music as a tool for emotional manipulation by focussing more on what was written about music in the film press than on analysis of the film scores.[3] Music is an integral part of filmmaking and this was no different in the Third Reich and the Soviet Union. Music played a role in the production of the film but more than this, it was used as a tool for marketing films through the film press, radio and record sales, and it influenced and altered the experience of watching the films for the spectators. If we want to understand the experience of filmgoing in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union we cannot ignore the importance of music both in terms of film production and reception.

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[1] Eric Rentschler, *The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and Its Afterlife* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).
[2] For literature review on Nazi and Soviet cinema see pp. 5-9. For literature on music in Nazi and Soviet cinema see pp. 14-16.
[3] Rentschler, *The Ministry of Illusion*.

This project was born out of a frustration with a perceived divide between film music theorists, who look at how music functions in film from a predominantly ahistorical perspective, and the scholarship written on the use of music in national cinemas, which until relatively recently has tended to focus on questions of content and production, rarely applying theory to the film texts themselves. Whilst the field of scholarship on music in film and other screen media is rapidly expanding (and has changed considerably even since I started this project), there remains a need for more focussed study of the relationship between film music and ideology that moves beyond questions of gender and sexuality to include other questions of identity and politics.[4] In the words of Stephen C. Meyer, we need to engage 'closely and critically, not merely to the music in epic films, but to the ideological, institutional, and aesthetic contexts in which these films were created and in which they were (and are) viewed.'[5]

Traditionally scholarship on film music in national cinemas has been limited to analysis of a single film, director, producer, composer or genre, rather than an examination of how music functioned more broadly within the films of a specific historical and ideological context. Miguel Mera and David Burnard's *European Film Music* offers insight into a range of contexts including Italian Neo-realism, Ealing Comedies, contemporary Spanish film and German film between 1927 and 1945, as well as chapters on individual directors, composers and films, such as Werner Herzog and Zbigniew Preisner.[6] However, as an edited collection it proves little in the way of conclusions about a wider European filmmaking tradition. There are also studies which examine aspects of the use of music within film movements such as the New German Cinema and French New Wave.[7]And yet much is still to be done beyond these famous Art-House cinema

[4] Most of the literature on music and ideology in film has focused on questions of gender and sexuality. For example, see Peter Franklin, *Seeing Through Music: Gender and Modernism in Classic Hollywood Film Scores*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); James Buhler, 'Gender, Sexuality, and the Soundtrack,' in David Neumeyer (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Film Music Studies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 386-382.; Catherine Haworth, 'Introduction: Gender, Sexuality, and the Soundtrack,' *Music, Sound and the Moving Image*, 6:2, (2012), pp. 113–135; Heather Laing, *The Gendered Score: Music In 1940s Melodrama and the Woman's Film*, (Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate, 2007); Scott Paulin, 'Unheard Sexualities?: Queer Theory and the Soundtrack,' *Spectator*, 17:2 (1997), pp. 37–49; Caryl Flinn, *Strains of Utopia: Gender, Nostalgia, and Hollywood Film Music*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).
[5] Stephen C. Meyer, 'Preface: Epic Genre, Epic Style,' in Stephen C. Meyer (ed.), *Music in Epic Film: Listening to Spectacle,* (New York: Routledge, 2017), p. xii.
[6] Miguel Mera and David Burnand (eds.), *European Film Music*, (Hampshire/Burlington: Ashgate, 2006).
[7] See Orlene Denice McMahon, *Listening to the French New Wave: The Film Music and Composers of Postwar French Art Cinema*, (Bern: Peter Lang, 2014); Roger Hillman, *Unsettling Scores: German Film, Music, and Ideology*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005); Caryl Flinn, *The New German Cinema: Music, History, and the Matter of Style*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Pres, 2004); Aidan O'Donnell, 'Sound in Italian Cinema: But the Bells are the Voice of God: Diegetic Music in Post-War Italian

movements, which are often discussed in terms of their opposition to popular cinema. More recently, Phil Powrie's *Music in Contemporary French Cinema: The Crystal-Song* examines the use of music in French cinema from 1985 to 2015, adopting a much broader timescale whilst examining a particular characteristic of music in French cinema.[8] Through his theory of the 'crystal-song' as a pivotal musical moment that engages simultaneously with concepts of the past, present and future, Powrie demonstrates how music functions in French national cinema through a specific aspect of musical scoring and in doing so, he combines close analysis of French film music and its ideological and aesthetic contexts, whilst limiting the scope of his project to a particular musical characteristic.

This thesis predominantly looks at self-contained musical moments rather than long-form scoring techniques. The cinema of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union tended to privilege isolated moments of diegetic music, or at least non-diegetic music employed in such a way as to draw attention to its presence and affective nature. It is this observation that has informed my decision to focus on these moments of heightened affective appeal. In doing so, I have largely ignored questions regarding long-form musical strategies. However, such musical scoring techniques, as well as moments in which the music sits towards the inaudible end of the spectrum, are not completely absent from films in either context. More could be made (in particular) of this use of music in imaginings of the past as a site for the performance of contemporary politics, which draws on Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of the 'epic' as a 'transferral of a represented world into the past.'[9] As one of the key composers of symphonic film scores in the Soviet Union, writings on the film music of Sergey Prokof'yev has covered this type of film scoring practice in some detail.[10] In particular, Kevin Bartig's chapter on *Aleksandr Nevskiy*

Cinema,' in Graeme Harper (ed.), *Sound and Music in Film and Visual Media: A Critical Overview*, (London: Continuum, 2009) pp. 340-351.

[8] Phil Powrie, *Music in Contemporary French Cinema: The Crystal-Song*, (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017).

[9] Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, Michael Holquist (ed.), Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (trans.) (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 13.

[10] Kevin Bartig, *Composing for the Red Screen: Prokofiev and Soviet Film*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Rebecca Schwartz-Bishir, 'Aleksandr Nevskiy: Prokofiev's Successful Compromise with Socialist Realism,' in Phil Powrie and Robynn Stilwell (eds.), *Composing for the Screen in Germany and the USSR*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007), pp. 148–60; Christopher Palmer, 'Prokofiev, Eisenstein and Ivan,' *Musical Times*, 132, (1991), pp. 179–81; Phillip D. Roberts, 'Prokofiev's Score and Cantata for Eisenstein's "Aleksandr Nevskiy",' *Semiotica*, 21, (1977), pp. 151–61; Mervyn Cooke, *A History of Film Music*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 347-353; Royal S. Brown, *Overtones and Undertones: Reading Film Music*, (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 134-148.

[*Alexander Nevsky*][11] in his *Composing for the Red Screen: Prokofiev and Soviet Film* examines the film music in relation to questions of an epic sound and its representation of the past.[12] The collaboration between Sergey Eyzenshteyn and Prokof'yev is the most written about aspect of Soviet film music.[13] However, as Bartig has demonstrated, Prokof'yev frequently complained about the ideological songs composed by his colleagues for film, highlighting the differences between Prokof'yev's approach to film scoring and the mainstream compositional practices of his contemporaries.[14] My decision to focus on self-contained moments of music therefore is a result of a number of factors: they are one of the most common characteristics of film music in both the Nazi and Soviet context; long-form musical strategies have received more attention so far in secondary literature; and they are well suited to fostering a sense of community through their foregrounding of shared affective experiences.

This thesis focuses on the ways in which music can encourage affective integration into imagined political and national communities, as well as the limits of these simulated affective attachments. All cinema makes affective appeals to its audience. However, the concept of community was central to both the Nazi and Soviet Regime and the management of spectator responses was rendered political within the two contexts. Contemporary discourse has revealed attempts to harness the affective power that was associated with cinema for political and ideological means.[15] Music plays a central role in this, through its affective and emotional appeals to the audience.

Chapter One gives an overview of the use of music in film broadly in both contexts. The most distinctive feature of film scoring techniques in the Third Reich and the Soviet Union is the preference given to song and diegetic musical performances as well as the relative sparsity of music in the soundtracks. This chapter considers many of the potential reasons behind these aesthetic characteristics, from economic constraints to their ideological expedient application. In keeping with contemporary scholarship, it considers questions of consumption, genre and entertainment as well as affect and the position of film music within the cultural landscape. Through this, the chapter will set the contextual

[11] *Aleksandr Nevskiy* [*Alexander Nevsky*], d. Sergey Eyzenshteyn, s. Sergey Eyzenshteyn and Pyotr Pavlenko, m. Sergey Prokof'ev, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1938).
[12] Bartig, *Composing for the Red Screen*.
[13] See fn. 10.
[14] Bartig, *Composing for the Red Screen.*
[15] See Chapter One for outline of the role of cinema as discussed in contemporary discourse.

framework, outlining the historical factors that influenced film production in both regimes, that is required for the subsequent analytical chapters. Rather than approaching the films from either the position of production, text or consumption (as has been the case in previous studies) the chapter looks at the historical factors influencing all three aspects in order to present a rounded picture of film-making and cinema-going in both regimes.

Building upon this contextual framework, Chapters Two, Three and Four all examine the ways in which music helps foster the impression of community through moments of shared affective experience and self-referentiality. Chapter Two analyses moments of musical performances and on-screen listening practices and what these scenes reveal about the role of music in appealing to mass audiences through film. Chapter Three examines the use of music in comedy films as humour works on the level of shared expectations and experiences, helping to strengthen the boundaries between social inclusion and exclusion. Often comic characters exist on the fringes of acceptable society, which posed a particular problem for the Soviet Union, where art was to present an idealised version of reality. This chapter looks at the ways in which music was used to comic affect in the films. Chapter Four considers the use of music in death scenes in Nazi and Stalinist cinema.[16] The representation of death becomes a site for the articulation of community but also a way of controlling potentially anarchic communal or group responses. Music contributes to the emotional tone of each scene and bonds the spectators together in an affective community – something which is common in most cinematic death scenes but takes on significance when considered in the context of mass politics.

Music has a multiplicity of functions in film. It can provide a structural role, from altering the rhythm of a scene to providing continuity between ideas and images. It can work on the level of narrative and can also serve a semiotic function, guiding the meaning-making processes for the spectator. Not only this, but it can work on the level of affect and emotion, effecting and altering the emotional state of the audience. This thesis takes a multifaceted approach to music in the films of the Third Reich and the Soviet

[16] Thomas Schatz states that melodrama is comedy's inverse. Thomas Schatz, 'Family Melodrama' in Marcia Landy (ed.), *Imitations of Life. A Reader on Film and Television Melodrama* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1991) p.149.

Union and will consider all relevant functions, from narrative to affective, whilst exploring how music interacts with concepts of community in the films.

Comparison Beyond the Totalitarian Model

A study that places Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union under Stalin side-by-side may at first glance appear old-fashioned. The idea to compare Nazism and Stalinism dates back as far as the regimes themselves and their retrospective historiographies are inextricably entwined with the history of totalitarianism as a theoretical model. The term 'totalitarian' (or 'totalitarianism') first gained currency in political debates during the 1920s[17] (primarily in reference to Fascist Italy) but came under attack in the 1970s for its use as an ideological tool in the Cold War, as it was often used to link Communism with Nazism as the 'Other' to Western democracies.[18] On the German side, Martin Kitchen has argued that the term was linked with Cold War rhetoric that failed to acknowledge the different aims and intentions of the Nazi and Soviet regimes through its focus on form as content.[19] In Soviet studies, political scientists such as Jerry Hough also rejected the Nazi-Soviet comparison on the basis of its Cold War politicisation.[20] However, this critique of the totalitarian model often went hand-in-hand with the understanding that Nazism was inhumane, whereas Bolshevism was ultimately humane[21] – a claim that has its own problematic ideological and ethical implications.

A second criticism of the totalitarian model rested in its use as an analytical tool, with a set of defining characteristics.[22] Ian Kershaw argues that when used to explain the nature of both political systems, the application of totalitarianism is limited, although the term does have some theoretical validity. Kershaw argues that 'totalitarianism' can only

[17] Michael Geyer and Sheila Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Beyond Totalitarianism: Stalinism and Nazism Compared* (New York/Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Michael Halberstam, *Totalitarianism and the Modern Conception of Politics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999); Wolfgang Wippermann, *Totalitarianismustheorien: Die Entwicklung der Diskussion von den Anfängen bis heute* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 1997).
[18] Abbott Gleason, *Totalitarianism: The Inner History of the Cold War* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
[19] Lawrence Aronsen and Martin Kitchen (eds.), *The Origins of the Cold War in Comparative Perspective: American, British and Canadian Relations with the Soviet Union, 1941-48*, (London: Macmillan, 1988), p. 31.
[20] Jerry Hough, *The Soviet Union and Social Science Theory*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977).
[21] ibid. p. 31.
[22] See Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1951); Carl Joachim Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956); Leonard Schapiro, *Totalitarianism*, Key Concepts in Political Science, (London: Macmillan, 1983).

account for superficial similarities, referring to differences in structure, the essential character of leadership and the control over economies as sites of difference.[23] The term emphasises commonalities where in fact many studies have, on closer inspection, found the two regimes to function differently.[24]

However, the question of whether these two regimes are similar or different seems to depend on which level of analysis you take. A high-level analysis of the two film cultures, for instance, would reveal that they were both film industries that were funded and managed by the regime, whilst a closer look at the managerial style in each context would reveal that Stalin was heavily involved in the vetting of films in the Soviet Union, whilst Hitler left this up to Goebbels who, in turn, had a different managerial style (not to mention agenda) to Stalin. The question of whether the two are similar or different, then, should be reframed to ask *how* they are similar *and* different at particular levels of analysis. Just because the managerial styles were different in some respects does not invalidate the fact that they were both film industries that were funded and managed by political regimes.

The top-down 'totalitarian' model in which a monolithic, efficient system of control indoctrinated the minds of its subjects has long since been revealed to be inconsistent with the reality. The 'traditional' school of scholarship on Nazi cinema demonstrated this top-down approach by focusing on the use of film as propaganda and the political control of the film industry under a totalitarian regime.[25] Gottfried Kinsky-Weinfurter adopted this approach in his examination of Nazi film music as state propaganda.[26] The image presented by these studies was that of a tightly controlled system of mass manipulation that stood in stark contrast to other National cinemas. Since the 1990s, however, scholars such as Eric Rentschler, Sabine Hake, Lutz Koepnick, Antje Ascheid, Mary-Elizabeth O'Brien, and Erica Carter have continually redefined Nazi cinema, shifting attention away from the 'totalitarian' model towards questions of

[23] For a brief overview of the debate and Kershaw's position, see Ian Kershaw, 'The Essence of Nazism: form of fascism, brand of totalitarianism, or unique phenomenon?' in *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, Fourth Edition (London: Arnold, 2000; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 20-46.
[24] See Hans Mommsen, *Totalitarismus und Faschismus. Eine wissenschaftliche und politische Begriffskontroverse*, (Munich/Vienna: Kolloquien des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte, 1980), pp. 18-27.
[25] Erwin Leiser, *Nazi Cinema*, (New York: Collier Books, 1974); David Welch, *Propaganda and the German Cinema, 1933-1945*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).
[26] Gottfried Kinsky-Weinfurter, *Filmmusik als Instrument staatlicher Propaganda : der Kultur- und Industriefilm im Dritten Reich und nach 1945*, (München : Ölschläger, 1993).

spectatorship, consumerism, stardom, and genre.[27] The picture presented by this wave of scholarship is one of an industry rife with internal contradictions as well as external pressures. As scholarship moved beyond the big-budget propaganda films to include genres such as the melodrama film and comedy films, it was found that films often contained ideological ambiguities, or contradictions to official policy, that scholars have struggled to explain.[28] Pamela Potter has recently examined the ideological, moral and historical conditions that have shaped historiography of the arts (including musicology), leading to what Potter argues are incorrect notions of the micromanagement of the arts in the Third Reich.[29]

On the other hand, we must be careful not to move too far in the other direction. In revealing the inconsistencies and contradictions found in Nazi filmmaking and to place too much emphasis on the continuities between Weimar filmmaking and the industry under the Nazi Party, brings with it a danger of implying that filmmaking in Nazi Germany was a liberal pursuit, which is also erroneous. At the very least, the regime sought to monitor filmmaking in the Third Reich and censor any films that might be considered subversive. Laura Heins' work on sexuality in the Nazi melodrama goes some way in addressing these concerns. She states, 'I do not intend to argue that Nazism was in any way revolutionary or empowering, only that it sometimes advertised itself as such; this study thus highlights the false revolutionary rhetoric of Nazism, its spurious appeals to liberation.'[30] Ideological ambiguities are therefore not necessarily indicative of

[27] Rentschler, *The Ministry of Illusion*; Linda Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich: Illusions of Wholeness in Nazi Cinema*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996); Jo Fox, *Filming Women in the Third Reich*, (Oxford: Berg, 2000); Sabine Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich*, (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2001); Lutz Koepnick, *The Dark Mirror: German Cinema Between Hitler and Hollywood*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002); Antje Ascheid, *Hitler's Heroines: Stardom and Womanhood in Nazi Cinema*, (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2003); Mary-Elizabeth O'Brien, *Nazi Cinema as Enchantment: The Politics of Entertainment in the Third Reich*, (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2004); Erica Carter, *Dietrich's Ghosts: The Sublime and the Beautiful in Third Reich Film*, (London: BFI, 2004); Jana Franscesca Bruns, *Nazi Cinema's New Women*, (Cambridge/ New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[28] This is particularly true of the melodrama film, where nuclear family relations are often undermined. See Laura Heins, *Nazi Film Melodrama*, (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013); Astrid Pohl, *TränenReiche BürgerTräume: Wunsch und Wirklichkeit in deutschsprachigen Filmmelodramen, 1933-45*, (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 2010); Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich*. For readings that understand these ambiguities as aesthetic opposition see Rentschler, *Ministry of Illusion*, p. 218; Karsten Witte, 'Ästhetische Opposition? Käutners Filme im Faschismus', *Sammlung Jahrbuch für antifaschistische Literatur und Kunst*, 2, (1979), pp. 113-23.

[29] Pamela M. Potter, *Art of Suppression: Confronting the Nazi Past in Histories of the Visual and Performing Arts*, (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2017).

[30] Heins, *Nazi Film Melodrama*, p. 11.

opposition or a hands-off approach by the regime, but part of a wider attempt to appeal to mass audiences.

Studies in Stalinist cinema have also moved away from a 'traditional' school that highlighted the use of film as propaganda and government control over the industry.[31] Jamie Millar's work has examined the economic and technological limitations of the industry, as well as the often chaotic and contradictory efforts of the state to control film production and distribution. In doing so, he challenges the understanding of Stalinist cinema as an efficient 'totalitarian' system.[32] The 2016 *A Companion to Russian Cinema* contains chapters on studios, popular genres, developments in sound and colour technologies, set design, and stars amongst many other things that have traditionally been ignored by the 'totalitarian' school.[33]

Other scholars have examined Soviet cinema in terms of the ideological content of the films. John Haynes and Lilya Kaganovsky have examined Soviet cinema in terms of masculinity, Evgeniy Dobrenko has written about cinema's role in constructing official histories, and Jeremy Hicks has examined the representation of the Holocaust in Soviet cinema.[34] Most recently, scholars such as Emma Widdis, Kaganovsky, and Anna Toporova have discussed cinema and the Soviet experience in terms of sensory and emotional education, tying in with the so-called 'emotional turn' in Soviet historiography.[35]

Given the problems with the term 'totalitarianism' as both a concept and an analytic model, this thesis is not an attempt to equate the two regimes under the term

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[31] For 'totalitarian' approach see Peter Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society from the Revolution to the Death of Stalin*, (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001; repr. London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009); Richard Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany,* Second Edition, (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009).

[32] Jamie Millar, *Soviet Cinema: Politics and Persuasion under Stalin*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010).

[33] Birgit Beumers (ed.), *A Companion to Russian Cinema*, (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2016).

[34] John Haynes, *New Soviet Man: Gender and Masculinity in Stalinist Soviet Cinema*, (New York: Manchester University Press, 2013); Lilya Kaganovsky, *How the Soviet Man was Unmade: Cultural Fantasy and Male Subjectivity Under Stalin*, (Pittsburgh, PEN: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008); Evgeniy Dobrenko, *Stalinist Cinema and the Production of History*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008); Jeremy Hicks, *First Films of the Holocaust: Soviet Cinema and the Genocide of the Jews, 1938-1946*, (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012).

[35] Emma Widdis, *Socialist Senses: Film, Feeling, and the Soviet Subject, 1917-1940*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2017); Kaganovsky, 'Material'nost' Zbuka: Kino Kasaniya Esfiri Shub / The Materiality of Sound: Esfir Shub's Haptic Cinema,' *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie*, 120, (2013); Kaganovsky, 'The Voice of Technology and the End of Soviet Silent Film: on Grigorii Kozintsev and Leonid Trauberg's "Alone",' *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema*, 1:3, (2007), pp. 265-281; Kaganovsky, 'The Homogenous Thinking Subject or Soviet Cinema Learns to Sing,' *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema*, 6:3, (2013); Toropova, 'Probing the Heart and Mind of the Viewer'; Toporova, '"Educating the Emotions"'; Toporova, 'Educating Emotions: Affect, Genre Film, and Ideology under Stalin'. For more on the 'emotional turn' see pp. 17-19.

totalitarianism.[36] Nor is it a top-down, propaganda-centred study of the two film industries. However, it is my belief that comparative research brings enough benefits to warrant new integrative approaches that make use of the huge developments that the fields of German and Soviet cultural history have seen in recent years. Whatever essential differences existed, comparison itself remains a legitimate exercise, even if the conclusions only help to sharpen our understanding of how the two contexts differ. This type of research helps to re-evaluate claims of exceptionalism whilst simultaneously revealing idiosyncrasies that help shed light on the specific historic and geographic contexts. For example, Ben Morgan's article on the music in *Triumph des Willens* [*Triumph of the Will*][37] demonstrates that the music is representative of Nazi monumental film art, whilst also drawing on musical idioms and techniques used in other film cultures.[38] Taking a more direct comparative approach, and discussing orchestras instead of film music, Fritz Trümpi's *The Political Orchestra: The Vienna and Berlin Philharmonics During the Third Reich* uses comparison to demonstrate the 'divergent symbolic valences of the two orchestras.'[39]

A handful of recent studies have taken the notion that Nazi cinema shared a great deal with its Hollywood counterpart[40] as the basis for direct comparisons between Nazi and Hollywood films.[41] The largest of these comparative studies is Heins' work on the Nazi melodrama film.[42] Heins makes the case for a comparative approach by arguing that it will help define what exactly is and is not unique about Nazi filmmaking: '[t]he search for a definition of Nazi cinema's specificity now requires that it be viewed in relation to

[36] A fact reflected in my choice to avoid the term altogether in my analysis.
[37] *Triumph des Willens* [*Triumph of the Will*], d. Leni Riefenstahl, m. Herbert Windt, p. Leni Riefenstahl, p.c. Reichsparteitagfilm of the L. R. Studio-Film (Germany, 1935).
[38] Ben Morgan, 'Music in Nazi Film: How Different is Triumph of the Will?', *Studies in European Cinema*, 3:1, (2006), pp. 37-53.
[39] Fritz Trümpi, *The Political Orchestra: The Vienna and Berlin Philharmonics During the Third Reich* (Chicago, ILL: University of Chicago Press, 2016), p. 1.
[40] See Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich*; Rentschler, *The Ministry of Illusion*; Patrice Petro, 'Nazi Cinema at the Intersection of the Classical and the Popular,' *New German Critique*, 74, (Spring/Summer, 1998), pp. 41-45; Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich*; Koepnick, *The Dark Mirror*.
[41] Heins, *Nazi Film Melodrama*; Jens Eder, 'Das Populäre Kino im Krieg. NS-Film und Hollywoodkino – Massenunter – haltung und Mobilmachung,' in Harro Segeberg (ed.), *Mediale Mobilmachung I: Das Dritte Reich und der Film*, (Munich: Vilhelm Fink Verlag, 2004), pp. 379-416; Rentschler, 'Hollywood Made in Germany: *Lucky Kids,*' in *The Ministry of Illusion*, pp. 99-122; Karsten Witte, 'Visual Pleasure Inhibited: Aspects of the German Revue Film,' *New German Critique*, 24/25, Special Double Issue on New German Cinema, (Autumn/Winter, 1981-82), pp. 238-63.
[42] Heins, *Nazi Film Melodrama.*

others rather than as a historically, geographically, and ideologically isolated phenomenon.'[43]

Soviet cinema studies, on the other hand, have resisted comparison to a greater degree. Katerina Clark's seminal text on the Soviet novel argued that socialist realist literature be compared not to the classics of literature, but to generically derivative pulp fiction.[44] And whilst much has been written on the (failed) attempt to create a Soviet version of Hollywood,[45] very few articles have attempted direct comparison, particularly of film texts. The 'Soviet Subjectivity' movement as well as the recent 'emotional turn' in Soviet studies both share a common basis that a specifically Soviet subjectivity was created through discourse (the focus of the subjectivity movement) and affective emotional education (the focus of the 'emotional turn').[46] As such, the focus has tended to be on the specificity of the Soviet experience, rather than on any commonalities. However, comparison can help to establish just how different the filmgoing experience was in the Soviet Union and in Nazi Germany, and the types of affective and emotional appeals that the films contain can help shed light on the concepts of the Soviet and Nazi collective experience.

The decision to look at Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in part rests in a need to rethink our presuppositions about these two cultures in relation to one another. The fact that they have been grouped together and continue to be grouped together demonstrates a certain staying power for the comparison that warrants further consideration. In addition, my interest in the relationship between film music, ideology, and politics renders these two heavily documented political contexts suitable case studies. Both regimes sought to use film to influence the populace and infrastructural changes were implemented in both contexts that at least demonstrates an attempt at top-down management of the film industry, even if the picture was far more complicated than has been previously assumed. The creation of national-political communities was

[43] Ibid., p. 7.
[44] Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual*, Third Edition (Bloomington, IN: Indianapolis University Press, 2000), pp. ix - xii.
[45] See Maria Belodubrovskaya, 'Soviet Hollywood: The Culture Industry That Wasn't', *Cinema Journal*, 53, 3 (Spring 2014), pp. 100-122; Graham Roberts, 'Dream Factory and Film Factory: The Soviet Response to Hollywood 1917-1941,' in Paul Cooke (ed.), *World Cinema's 'Dialogues' with Hollywood* (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) pp. 35-51; 'Boris Shumyatsky and the Soviet Cinema in the 1930s: Ideology as Mass Entertainment,' *Historical Journal of Film*, Radio and Television, 6:1, (1986), pp. 46-64.
[46] See following section for a discussion of the 'Subjectivity' movement and the 'emotional turn', including references to literature.

important to both regimes and the cinemagoing audience was considered a model for these national communities.

One of the complexities of comparative research is the question of structure. Robynn Stilwell and Phil Powrie's *Composing for the Screen in Germany and the USSR* separates the two case studies.[47] Despite the aim to compare and contrast the film cultures of Germany and the Soviet Union, this study presents six essays on German film music and three on Soviet film music that rarely form comparisons. In addition, as a collection of independent essays there are inevitable gaps in knowledge and an imbalance in both approaches and content. Richard Taylor's *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany* also separates the two contexts out, dedicating half of the book to each. He examines each context in relation to the same set of criteria, in contrast to the edited collection, but only presents a short conclusion, leaving many of the connections and distinctions up to the reader to ascertain.

On the other hand, Michael Geyer and Sheila Fitzpatrick's *Beyond Totalitarianism: Stalinism and Nazism Compared*, adopts a comparative approach in which specialists on Soviet and German history are paired together to write collaborative chapters on a case or theme.[48] The result is an odd tennis match effect, in which scholars bounce their retrospective histories off each other before bringing them together in a brief conclusion. What this study does well, however, is the bringing together of contemporary methodologies for approaching the histories of each country, opening up the disciplinary boundaries in order to learn from each other. By grouping the cultures together, the comparative element is foregrounded; however, the constant redirection between the two makes it hard for the reader to grasp an in-depth understanding of the situation in each case.

This thesis adopts a hybrid approach with sections that alternate frequently between the two contexts where I believe synthesis allows for trends, similarities and differences to be brought out most clearly, as well as in-depth case studies that are separated out to allow for the particularities of each case to be explored. Comparison often implies a methodology in which two or more cases are measured against a set of criteria, inviting comparison of like with like. However, this thesis is less a direct

[47] Stilwell and Powrie (eds.), *Composing for the Screen in Germany and the USSR: Cultural Politics and Propaganda*.
[48] Geyer and Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Beyond Totalitarianism.*

comparison and more a study of an aspect of film scoring within two film cultures in conjunction with one another.[49]

A first line of enquiry asks what the film texts from the Third Reich and the Soviet Union can tell us about the relationship between entertainment and ideology in each context. If nothing else, the Third Reich and the Soviet Union held the ideological power of films in high regard. Both regimes invested considerable effort in managing the film industry and believed that art had the potential to be transformative – a quality they both promoted and feared. They also both understood the value of entertainment and sought to create ideologically sound entertainment films. Comparison reveals that the pseudo-separation of propaganda from entertainment in Nazi Germany allowed for, and even required, more films that appear to have little or no ideological agenda and even some films that appear to contradict official policy. This thesis will explore how this relationship between entertainment and ideology is played out in film scoring practices in each context.

Secondly, the films of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union reflect and promote a cultural framework of interdependence over the ideology of individualism. Both regimes embarked on ambitious projects of social engineering that ascribed group social identities. In Nazi Germany the 'myth of transcendent unity, the ideal *Volksgemeinschaft,* provided the common ground, by virtue of which many Germans ultimately came to identify with Adolf Hitler, the Nazi Party, and the Third Reich,' whilst the Stalinist schema of ascribed social identities fostered identification with the Soviet collective.[50] This thesis will address and explore these notions of community as they are represented and encouraged through music in films, with a particular focus on the affective appeals to community in each cinematic context.

In examining the use of music in films from the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, I hope to demonstrate and explore the multiple similarities and differences that exist both on the level of textual analysis and in relation to the historical contexts. Traces of contemporary anxieties and production concerns can be found within the films themselves and in approaching these two contexts from the position of the text, this thesis

[49] Geyer and Fitzpatrick's *Beyond Totalitarianism* adopts a similar approach.
[50] Christopher R. Browning and Lewis H. Siegelbaum, 'Frameworks for Social Engineering: Stalinist Schema of Identification and the Nazi Volksgemeinschaft', in Geyer and Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Beyond Totalitarianism*, pp. 231-265.

will shed light on the experience of cinemagoing within two highly-political historical contexts.

The Case for a Listener-Centred Approach

This thesis is firmly positioned amongst contemporary scholarship in its attempt to move beyond the totalitarian paradigm. Many of the films produced under the Nazi and Soviet regimes were popular with audiences. To even begin to understand the power and appeal that these movies had for their retrospective historical audiences, the films must be examined as films first and foremost - entertainment that audiences paid to see at the cinema - rather than as historical documents that are divorced from their function as entertainment for spectators. As such, instead of approaching the music in these films from the position of production, this thesis considers whether Nazi and Stalinist films demonstrate similarities in their use of music and what this might reveal retrospectively about their historical contexts.

This text-centred approach is not unusual for film musicology. However, the concepts and theoretical frameworks developed in film musicology have until recently been noticeably absent from discussions of film music in the Soviet Union. The first and only English language survey of film music in the Soviet Union provides a very basic introduction to the topic but does not analyse the films in any depth[51] and the majority of books written since have taken a composer-centred approach, considering the music in relation to questions of the composers' biography.[52] In Russian-language scholarship on the subject, there is also a notable trend for composer-centred monographs that take a similar approach.[53] Recent publications by musicologists Joan Titus and Kevin Bartig on the film music of Dmitriy Shostakovich and Prokof'yev respectively do bring in aspects of film theory in their analysis of the films. They also help to shed light on the everyday workings of composers in the Soviet Union, but in focusing on individual composers these

[51] Tatiana K. Egorova, *Soviet Film Music: An Historical Survey*, Tatiana A. Ganf and Natalia A. Egunova (trans.) (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1997). See also E. L. Frid, *Muzïka v Sovetskom Kino* (Leningrad: Muzïka, 1967).

[52] Joan M. Titus, 'Socialist Realism, Modernism and Dmitriy Shostakovich's *Odna* (*Alone,* 1929–1931)', in Pauline Fairclough (ed.) *Shostakovich Studies 2,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 100-20; Peter Kupfer, 'Music, Ideology, and Entertainment in the Soviet Musical Comedies of Grigory Aleksandrov and Isaak Dunayevsky' [Ph.D. diss.] (The University of Chicago, 2010); John Riley, *Dmitri Shostakovich: A Life in Film* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005).

[53] On Kabalevsky see D. Daragan, *Kinomuzïka D. Kabalevskogo* (Moscow: Muzïka, 1965); on Khachaturyan see N. Mikoyan, *Kinomuzïka Arama Khachaturyana* (Moscow: Sovetskiy Kompozitor, 1984); on Dunayevskiy see Dmitriy Minchenok, *Dunayevskiy: Krasnïy Motsart* (Moscow: Molodaya Gvardiya, 2006).

points often come second to questions of biography and it is unclear how unique or otherwise the experiences of Shostakovich and Prokof'yev were within the wider Soviet filmmaking context. In addition, the focus on such prestigious composers perpetuates attempts to elevate film music to the status of 'high art' whilst also missing out on the chance to note wider trends in the use of music in film.[54] Richard Taylor's review of Titus' book ends with a call for the publishers to produce a similar work on the popular music composer Isaak Dunayevskiy. This would help to expand the field beyond that of 'high-brow' concert composers but would still not provide insight into how music worked in film more generally in the Soviet context.[55] The case for composer-centred studies of film music is strong in the Soviet Union, where most professional concert composers were involved in writing film music at some point and collaboration such as that seen in Hollywood music departments was rare. However, this approach is still limited to one side of the feedback loop and can tell us little about the power that these films held for their audiences.

The approach to Nazi film music by musicologists is arguably more varied. Composer-centred approaches such as those focusing on Herbert Wind's score to *Triumph des Willens* or on Wolfgang Zeller's film music are common,[56] but so too are text-based approaches such as the articles by Guido Heldt on issues such as music in Nazi composer biopics and the use of music in the home-front entertainment films during the Second World War.[57] Heldt's work manages to successfully locate traces of the films' historical context within the texts themselves, approaching the topic from the texts, rather than their production history.[58] Despite this variety, however, literature on Nazi

[54] Joan Titus, *The Early Film Music of Dmitry Shostakovich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); Bartig, *Composing for the Red Screen*.
[55] Richard Taylor, 'The Early Film Music of Dmitry Shostakovich' [Review] *Music and the Moving Image,* 11:1 (2017), pp. 124-127.
[56] Reimar Volker, 'Herbert Windt's Film Music to Triumph of the Will: Ersatz-Wagner or Incidental Music to the Ultimate Nazi-Gesamtkunstwerk?', in Stilwell and Powrie (eds.), *Composing for the Screen in Germany and the USSR*, pp. 39-53; Ben Morgen, 'Music in Nazi film: How Different is *Triumph of the Will*?', *Studies in European Cinema*, 3, 1 (2006), pp. 37-53; Christine Raber, *Der Filmkomponist Wolfgang Zeller: propagandistische Funktionen seiner Filmmusik im Dritten Reich,* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2005).
[57] Andreas Pietsch, *Tönende Verführung: NS-Propaganda durch Filmmusik,* (Berlin: Mbv, Mensch-und-Buch-Verl., 2009); Guido Heldt, 'Kitsch und der Musikfilm im 3. Reich', in Katrin Eggers and Nina Noeske (eds.), *Kitsch*, (Hildesheim: Olms, 2014), pp. 125-45; Guido Heldt, 'Front Theatre: Musical Films and the War in Nazi Cinema', in Pauline Fairclough (ed.), *Twentieth-Century Music and Politics: Essays in Memory of Neil Edmunds,* (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 57-80; Guido Heldt, 'Hardly Heroes: Composers as a Subject in National Socialist Cinema', in Michael H. Kater and Albrecht Riethmuller (eds.), *Music and Nazism: Art Under Tyranny, 1933-1945*, (Germany: Laaber, 2003), pp. 114-135.
[58] Heldt, 'Kitsch und der Musikfilm im 3. Reich'; Heldt, 'Front Theatre'; Heldt, 'Hardly Heroes'.

film music is predominantly published in German and there are as yet no English-language monographs on the topic.

In addition to a text-centred approach, this thesis will adopt a listener-centred approach, asking how the filmic texts structure listening practices for the spectators. However, this thesis is not a reception study as such and deals with reception indirectly. Traditionally, reception studies' critique of textual analysis was that it understood meanings as contained within the text, ignoring the agency of the audience within such meaning constructions.[59] However, as Janet Staiger notes, 'No approach to meaning-making and effects avoids doing textual analysis of something: movie reviews, ethnographic notes, individuals' statements, focus group remarks, statements about memories, the objects spectators are looking at and listening to. This is ironic, since to study meaning-making, scholars have to interpret.'[60] As such, in the end the choice between approaches comes down to a choice of text.

Historical evidence of spectator response to films, such as surveys and reports of audience responses have been used effectively alongside film analysis by scholars such as Heins, Kaganovsky, and Toropova[61] and references to these historical sources will be brought in where relevant. However, they are generally less useful for questions regarding music and sound, which rarely feature in the surveys and reports. Music is mentioned from a theoretical perspective in the film press within both contexts and these writings often contain indirect references to the reception of past film scores. Kevin Bartig's discourse analysis of music in the Soviet film press and Christelle Le Faucheur's examination into the film press in the Third Reich both shed light on the response of filmmakers and composers to the music in past films.[62] Through textual analysis of the films, however, I reveal a separation of theory from practice, as the ideas and concerns

[59] Janet Staiger, *Media Reception Studies* (New York/London: New York University Press, 2005), p.2.
[60] ibid., p.13.
[61] Heins, *Nazi Film Melodrama*; Lilya Kaganovsky, 'Visual pleasure in Stalinist cinema: Ivan Pyr'ev's *The Party Card*' in Christina Kiaer and Eric Naiman (eds.), *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia: Taking the Revolution Inside*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), pp. 35-60; Anna Toropova, 'Probing the Heart and Mind of the Viewer: Scientific Studies of Film and Theatre Spectators in the Soviet Union, 1917-1936,' *Slavic Review* 76:4 (Winter 2017), pp. 931-958; Toropova, '"Educating the Emotions": Affect and Stylistic Excess in the Stalinist Melodrama', *English Language Notes*, 48:1, (Spring/Summer, 2010), pp. 49-63; Toporova, 'Educating Emotions: Affect, Genre Film, and Ideology under Stalin', [PhD diss.] (University College London, 2012).
[62] Kevin Bartig, 'Kinomuzyka: Theorizing Soviet Film Music in the 1930s', in Kaganovsky and Salazkina (eds.) *Sound, Speech, Music in Soviet and Post-Soviet Cinema*, pp. 181-192; and Christelle Georgette Le Faucheur, *Defining Nazi Film: The Film Press and the German Cinematic Project, 1933-1945* [PhD Diss] (University of Texas, 2012).

raised within the film press appear to have had little effect on the practice of film scoring in both contexts, hinting at a difference between popular opinion and that of industry professionals. As such, textual analysis can locate traces of reception within the films themselves and the identification of formal strategies can complement and challenge existing audience and reception studies. As mentioned in the opening, Rentschler's reliance on the film press has led him to overemphasise the effectiveness of music as a tool for emotional manipulation of the audience, as composers and industry professionals were inclined to stress the importance of film music.[63] With studies into film music in the Soviet Union and the Third Reich often taking an historical approach, focussing on questions of production and reception, the text-based approach adopted in this thesis represents a diversion that nonetheless helps shed light on the experience of cinemagoing in both contexts.

In addition, it is possible to carry out textual analysis whilst acknowledging the agency of the audience by considering how an audience may have responded to the film. Of course, this involves careful consideration of each historical context as values, behaviours and attitudes are culturally and historically specific. My thinking has been shaped by the recent scholarly interest in listening on screen and how these representations structure listening practices for audiences.[64] In particular, Ben Winters' *Music, Performance and the Realities of Film* inspired many of the ideas and frameworks applied in this thesis.[65] This approach can most clearly be seen in Chapter Two, which examines moments of musical performance in film as sites of collective listening. Taking a historically-informed approach to spectatorship, Anna Nisnevich's work on listening in *Muzïkal'naya istoriya* [*A Musical Story*, 1940][66] demonstrates, through close textual analysis, how the film 'articulated a renewed ideal of Soviet social attachment' through

[63] Rentschler, *The Ministry of Illusion.*
[64] The 2015 conference 'Listening Cinematically' at Royal Holloway on 25-26 June saw a number of papers on listening as it relates to screen media. See http://www.cinematiclistening.org/about/ (accessed 18 September 2018). The forthcoming Oxford handbook on the topic edited by Carlo Cenciarelli contains many of the papers presented at the conference in chapter format. See also, Antonella Sisto, *Film Sound in Italy: Listening to the Screen*, (Basingstoke/ New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Giorgio Biancorosso, *Situated Listening: The Sound of Absorption in Classical Cinema*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); Marianne Kielian-Gilbert, 'Listening In Film: Music/Film Temporality, Materiality, and Memory,' in David Neumeyer (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Film Music Studies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 500-522.
[65] Ben Winters, *Music, Performance, and the Realities of Film: Shared Concert Experiences in Screen Fiction*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014).
[66] *Muzïkal'naya Istoriya* [*A Musical Story*], d. Aleksandr Ivanovskiy, s. Georgiy Munblit and Yevgeniy Petrov, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1940).

the on-screen depiction of listening.[67] In addition, the collection *Sound, Speech, Music in Soviet and Post-Soviet Cinema* presents itself as an:

> invitation to "deep listening": to attuning our ears to the complexity of meanings that emerge if we not only take sound as an equal partner in audiovisual representation but also engage in what Steven Feld had referred to as "acoustemology," that is, an investigation of the primacy of sound as a modality of knowing and being in the world.[68]

Drawing on sound studies, the collection emphasises the role of listening and sound to the Soviet experience. As sound contains the capacity to shape individuals' relationship to their surroundings and alter their understanding of the world, it is also political. In all cinema sound and music plays an affective role, but the politics of these affects changes and adapts depending on the historical context of both the films and their spectators.

Affect, Emotion, and Subjectivity

A number of overlapping theoretical frameworks and trends in recent literature within the arts and humanities have made their way into this thesis. The first of these is the so-called 'affective turn,'[69] which has given rise to a renewed interest in the relationship between bodies and the feelings that shape our experience of being in the world.[70] However, affect is notoriously difficult to define, and multiple definitions exist within affect theory, let alone across Soviet and Nazi historiography, musicology, and film theory. In particular, the distinction between affect, feeling, and emotion is murky, with some scholars using the terms interchangeably, whilst others go to great lengths to make distinctions between the three concepts.

For Brian Massumi, affect is 'the excluded middle' between acting and being acted upon[71] – a description that marries well with notions of film spectatorship as a grey area between active and passive cognitive activities. Massumi, Giles Deleuze, and Felix

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[67] Anna Nisnevich, 'Listening to *Muzykal'naia istoriia*,' in Lilya Kaganovsky and Masha Salazkina (eds.), *Sound, Speech, Music in Soviet and Post-Soviet Cinema* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2014), pp. 204-205.
[68] Kaganovsky and Salazkina (eds.), *Sound, Speech, Music in Soviet and Post-Soviet Cinema*. See also Michael Bull and Les Back (eds.), *The Auditory Culture Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2003).
[69] Patricia Ticineto Clough and J Halley (eds.), *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).
[70] Marie Thompson and Ian Biddle (eds.), *Sound, Music, Affect: Theorizing Sonic Experience* (New York/London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p.6.
[71] Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002) p.24.

Guattari all base their theories of affect on the philosophy of Baruch Spinoza, who makes the distinction between *affectus* (affect) and *affectio* (affection).[72] Affection is the encounter between one body and another – in other words the body as it affects and is affected by another body or object. A body, for Spinoza is not just the human form, but anything that has the capacity to affect and be affected by another.

However, neither affect nor affection refers to emotions or personal feeling in this field of thought, which sees affect as autonomous. Massumi states that affect is 'a pre-personal intensity corresponding to the passage from one experiential state of the body to another and implying an augmentation or diminution in that body's capacity to act.'[73] The pre-personal implies a pre-emotional engagement and Massumi goes to great lengths to attempt to separate out affect from emotion, which he understands as social, and feeling, which he links to the personal and biographical.[74]

Taking a cognitivist rather than philosophical approach, psychologist Silvan Tomkins sees 'affects' as neuro-physiological processes that act as a 'primary motivator'[75] and for Anna Gibbs, these neuro-physiological events then become feelings and can be 'elaborated into the more complex blends of affect which compromise emotion.'[76] In these definitions affect comes before, overlaps with, but is still nevertheless distinct from feeling and emotion.

Despite Deleuze and Guattari's often cited statement that 'harmonies of tone and colour, are affects of music or painting,'[77] less work has been done on establishing a theory of music and affect. In a recent attempt to address this, Will Schrimshaw has defined affect as 'an indifferent complement to these emotional products [feeling and emotion] that is nonetheless implicated within them, constituting a ground that undermines their "immateriality".'[78] Suzanne Cussik's work on the use of music as

[72] Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual*; Massumi, 'The Autonomy of Affect,' *Cultural Critique*, 31 (1995), pp.83-109; Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *What is Philosophy?* (London/New York: Continuum, 2003); Baruch Spionoza, *The Ethics* (Gloucester: Echo Library, 2006).
[73] Brian Massumi, 'Introduction,' in Deleuze and Guttari, *What is Philosophy?*
[74] Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual.*
[75] Silvan Tomkins, 'Introduction to Affect Symposium, A.P.A. 1994,' in Silvan Tomkins and Carroll E. Izard (eds.), *Affect, Cognition, Personality: Empirical Studies* (London: Tavistock, 1966), pp. vii-x.
[76] Anna Gibbs, 'Contagious Feelings: Pauline Hanson and the Epidemiology of Affect,' *Australian Humanities Review* (2001); Gibbs, 'After Affect: Sympathy, Synchrony, and Mimetic Communication,' in Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth (eds.), *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press, 2010), pp.186-205.
[77] Deleuze and Guattari, *What is Philosophy?* p.164.
[78] Will Schrimshaw, 'Non-cochlear sound: On affect and exteriority,' in Marie Thompson and Ian Biddle (eds.), *Sound, Music, Affect: Theorizing Sonic Experience* (New York/London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p.27.

torture weapon in US detention camps and Steve Goodman's analysis of 'bad vibes' in the military both examine the darker side of music's affective potential, whilst Lawrence Grossberg examines the 'affective alliances' between rock and roll and its audience.[79] As is also the case within affect theory, different definitions of affect exist across these studies and the collection *Sound, Music, Affect: Theorizing Sonic Experience*, acknowledges the terminological complexities and ambiguities within affect theory that are unavoidably present across its chapters.[80]

However, despite the terminological ambiguities that are present within affect theory, examining film music through the lens of affect is still a worthwhile task. Whilst it is hard to establish the point at which affect can be separated from emotion and feeling, the distinction is less of a concern here than the relation and overlap between these concepts. In her work on marketing affect in classical music Freya Jarman writes, 'just as affective labour has always produced capital on some level, classical music has always participated in an affective economy, producing emotional responses from listeners and benefiting from those responses, from the emotional attachments listeners make to music.'[81] For Jarman, then, affect *produces* emotions. This understanding of an affective economy that involves both affect and the resulting emotions is central to film scoring practices, as films rely on the emotional attachments made by spectators. However, this takes on further political significance in the context of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, where officials were explicitly and acutely concerned with the management of spectator desire and emotions, not only for reasons of commerce and capital but in relation to the political agendas of the regime. The terms affect, emotion, and feeling will be used somewhat interchangeably in this thesis as none of the findings hinge on clear distinctions between these terms and in drawing boundaries, unhelpful binaries such as those between body and mind, individual and social, and private and public are reinforced.

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[79] Suzanne Cusick, 'Music as Torture/Music as Weapon,' *Transcultural Music Review*, 10 (2006); Cusick, 'Musicology, Torture, Repair,' *Radical Musicology*, 3 (2008); Steve Goodman, *Sonic Warfare: Sound, Affect and the Ecology of Fear* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010); Lawrence Grossberg, 'Another Boring Day in Paradise: Rock and Roll and the Empowerment of Everyday Life,' *Popular Music*, 4 (1984); and Grossberg, 'Is There a Fan in the House?: The Affective Sensibility of Fandom,' in Lisa A. Lewis, *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media* (London: Routledge, 1992). Also see Anahid Kassabian, *Ubiquitous Listening: Affect, Attention, and Distributed Subjectivity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013).

[80] Thompson and Biddle (eds.), *Sound, Music, Affect*.

[81] Freya Jarman, 'Relax, Feel Good, Chill Out: The Affective Distribution of Classical Music', in Thompson and Biddle (eds.), *Sound, Music, Affect*, pp. 203-204.

In recent years, Emma Widdis, Oksana Bulgakova, Lilya Kaganovsky, and Ana Olenia have studied the relationship between Soviet cinema and the body, focusing on how film sought to affect the body of the spectator.[82] The revolution in Russia was to bring about the creation of a new Soviet body; a body that was to exist in close harmony with its material surroundings.[83] As such, Soviet cinema in the 1920s engaged in what Widdis has described as a new model of subjectivity based on feeling.[84] Drawing on haptic film theory via Laura K. Marks, Widdis' work on early Soviet cinema has demonstrated that the 1930s saw a shift from a strong focus on sensory realism and haptic images in Soviet cinema towards that of emotional affect.[85] In other words, for Widdis feeling is the physical sensation resulting from affect. Haptic images, according to Marks, invite the eye over the surface of the image, drawing attention to the materiality of the images and objects of perception, whilst optic visuality invites the spectator into the images to identify with the characters and spaces represented.[86] Haptic and optic visuality exists on a sliding scale and the two forms of engagement are not mutually exclusive. Whilst early Soviet sound cinema engaged with the materiality of the Soviet sonic environment through experimental sound design, such experimentation fell out of favour in the 1930s. However, as both film cultures demonstrated a preference for on-screen diegetic performances that engage with the material aspect of music – with close-up images of musical instruments and radios - Chapter Two briefly considers whether on-screen musical performances engage in a 'haptic aurality'[87] in the cinemas of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union. In other words, whether they emphasis the physical sensations, or feelings, connected to the production of sound.

Alongside a concern with the creation of a new Soviet body, emotions were also implicated in the project of Soviet reconstruction. As the term *emotsiy* [emotions] began to appear in the film press during the 1930s, with increasing frequency, this concern with

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[82] Widdis, *Socialist Senses: Film, Feeling and the Soviet Subject, 1917-1940*; Lilya Kaganovsky, *How The Soviet Man was Unmade: Cultural Fantasy and Male Subjectivity Under Stalin*, (Pittsburgh, PEN: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008); Oksana Bulgakova, *Sovietskii Slukhoglaz: Kino i ego Organy Chuvstv*, (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2010); Ana Olenina, 'Psychomotor Aesthetics: Conceptions of Gesture and Affect in Russian and American Modernity, 1910s to 1920s,' [PhD diss.] (Harvard University, 2011).
[83] Widdis, *Socialist Senses*, p. 10.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Laura K. Marks, *The Skin of the Film: Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment, and the Senses*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).
[87] Lisa Coulthard has used the term 'haptic aurality' in Coulthard, 'Haptic Aurality: Resonance, Listening and Michael Haneke,' *Film-philosophy*, 16:1, (2012), pp. 16-29.

the emotional life of the Soviet citizen is reflected in the film texts. Recent scholarship in Soviet studies has approached the Soviet experience through a history of the emotions. Often dubbed the 'emotional turn', scholars such as Jan Plamper, Mark D. Steinberg, and Valeria Sobol have demonstrated that emotion was a central concern of the regime and the regulation of emotions was to bring about the creation of appropriate socialist feelings.[88] Whilst these scholars appear to borrow Massumi's understanding of emotions as social and feelings as personal, rather than Widdis' emphasis on feeling as physical sensation, the distinction between emotion and feeling is not clearly defined, with the terms used interchangeably. In her work on musical culture in the lead up to the revolution, Rebecca Mitchell has argued that 'emotion was a central attribute in the aesthetic discourse surrounding music, and critics frequently encouraged emotions connected with positive human experience, while denigrating what were considered negative or pessimistic emotions believed to have a deleterious impact on listeners.'[89] Positive emotions, particularly happiness (*schas'te*), appeared frequently in official discourse during the Stalinist period, too, and were framed as a product of socialism - to be Soviet, then, was to *feel* happy.[90] As Toporova has argued, this management of the population under the promise of happiness is a form of 'biopolitical' governance and Stalinist cinema often represented citizens as indebted to the regime for their happiness.[91] More recently, Toropova has revealed and examined a number of scientific studies that were carried out in the Soviet Union between 1917-1936 into film spectatorship and questions of emotional and cognitive responses demonstrating that the management of spectator desire and emotional responses to cinema was a central concern of the regime.[92]

The 'subjectivity movement', a predecessor to the 'emotional turn', examines the ways in which citizens internalised the ideologies of *Sovietness,* living them out and continually working on their selves to become better members of the Soviet collective.

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[88] Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, Keith Tribe (trans.), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Jan Plamper (ed.), 'Introduction', in 'Emotional Turn? Feelings in Russian History and Culture', *Slavic Review*, 68:2, (Summer, 2009), pp. 229-37; Mark D. Steinberg and Valerie Sobol (eds.), *Interpreting Emotions in Russian and Eastern Europe*, (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011).

[89] Rebecca Mitchell, *Nietzsche's Orphans: Music, Metaphysics, and the Twilight of the Russian Empire*, (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2016).

[90] Sheila Fitzpatrick, 'Happiness and *Toska*: An Essay in the History of Emotions in Pre-War Soviet Russia,' *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 50:3, (2004), pp. 357-371.

[91] Toropova, '"Educating the Emotions"'.

[92] Toropova, 'Probing the Heart and Mind of the Viewer'.

The two pioneering texts of this movement, Igor Halfin's *Terror in My Soul* and Jochen Hellbeck's *Revolution on My Mind*, both examine diary entries and autobiographies, presenting language as the creative force behind the crafting of a specific Soviet subjectivity.[93] These three recent trends (a sensory history, a history of emotions and the subjectivity movement) are all closely linked and are concerned with the relationship between the individual and society in Soviet Russia. They represent a move away from the outdated debate between totalitarian and revisionist scholars, instead viewing ideology as having an all-encompassing influence on human experience that goes beyond public and private binaries. With the 'emotional turn' understood as a corrective to the 'subjectivity' movement's emphasis on language, both of these trends together reveal a shared understanding that it is impossible to separate public performance, whether through language or emotion, from personal feelings.

One of the aforementioned benefits of comparative research is the exchange of theoretical frameworks between two different historiographies. In their comparison between conceptions of the New Man in Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia, Peter Fritzsche and Jochen Hellbeck argue that there was more emphasis placed on the 'individual process of becoming' in the Soviet Union. Whilst the New Man in Nazi Germany worked on their body, the New Man in the Soviet Union also worked on their soul.[94] However, whilst the self was to be a site of ongoing biological improvement, with the task of finding a suitable partner with which to procreate as one of the central tenets, German citizens were required to exercise racial vigilance in all areas of living. Beyond the focus on the body and biology, German citizens were also to acknowledge the 'limits of empathy' that was necessary in order to expel the elements in society that were considered undesirable.[95] In other words, empathy for Jewish people threatened Nazi ideology and as such, individuals were expected to push against these emotions. As such, despite the predominant focus on the body in the conceptualisation of the New Man (which is famously reflected in the films of Leni Riefenstahl) the Nazi party were also

[93] Igal Halfin, *Terror in My Soul: Community Autobiographies on Trial*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Jochen Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind: Writing a Diary Under Stalin*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).
[94] Peter Fritzsche and Jochen Hellbeck, 'The New Man in Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany,' in Geyer and Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Beyond Totalitarianism*, pp. 302-341.
[95] Hans F. K. Günther, 'Was ist Rasse?' *Illustrierter Beobachter*, 8, (12 August 1933), p.32; 'Grenzen des Mitleids,' *Neues Volk*, 1, (July 1933). Also see Fritzsche and Hellbeck, 'The New Man,' pp. 328-329.

acutely concerned with the management of unsolicited emotional drives, such as empathy for those persecuted by the Nazis.

As Heins has shown, measuring and controlling the emotional responses of spectators became an obsession for the Nazis.[96] Discourse in the film press frequently foregrounded the emotional effectiveness of films and the *Sicherheitsdienst* (S.D. or secret police) were sent to film screenings to report back on audience reactions, taking care to note emotional responses. Goebbels was critical of Italian fascist cinema for its excess of affect, which he argued could provoke undesired responses, such as humour when a scene was excessively tragic.[97] As such, both the emotional content of the films and its affects were to be carefully managed to find the correct balance between a lack or an excess of affect.

Whilst there is no direct equivalent of the 'subjectivity movement' or the 'emotional turn' in Nazi historiography, there are a number of studies that consider the role of affect, feelings and emotions in attachments made by individuals to society under the Nazis. Claudia Koonz's *The Nazi Conscience* emphasises the importance of emotions in the methods used by the Nazi's to fashion a new form of conscience based on the protection of the *Volk,* which Koonz refers to as 'ethnic fundamentalism'[98] and scholarship on the *Volksgemeinschaft* has turned its attention towards the affective and emotional appeals contained within the myth of transcendent unity. For example, Fritzsche and Norbert Frei have stressed the importance of affect and emotions in the 'feeling of social equality' promoted by the concept of *Volksgemeinschaft.* Once more, the concepts of affect, feeling, and emotion overlap within this scholarship and the focus is instead on how they come together to shape the individual and make (or break) attachments to ideological communities.

This concern over the function of emotions in building or dividing support for the regimes is not without scientific grounds. Historically, scientists have contrasted rational thought with emotional experiences, whilst also upholding a separation of mind from

[96] Heins, *Nazi Film Melodrama*.
[97] Ibid. pp. 24-25.
[98] Peter Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Unviersity Press, 2008); Norbert Frei, 'People's Community and War: Hitler's Popular Support,' in Hans Mommsen (ed.), *The Third Reich between Vision and Reality: New Perspectives on Germany History 1918-1945*, pp. 59-77; Norbert Frei, '"Volksgemeinschaft": Erfahrungsgeschichte und Lebenswirklichkeit der Hitler-Zeit,' in Norbert Frei, *1945 und Wir: Das Dritte Reich im Bewußtsein der Deutschen,* (Munich, 2005); Claudia Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

body.[99] However, it is now generally accepted that emotions augment and influence cognitive processes. The acknowledgement of the functional aspect of emotions dates back as far as the philosophy of David Hume, who argued that emotional impulse was the driving force behind all action.[100] Whilst emotions do not necessarily provoke action, they are not just a response to information: they also serve discrete functions themselves. More recently, the affect-as-information view understands emotions as an embodied source of information for individuals. Our internal emotional experiences shape our cognitive capacities (as well as the other way around) influencing things such as decision making, judgement and memory.[101]

As Massumi's distinction highlights, emotions also serve social functions.[102] For Émile Durkheim, emotions play a role in building social solidarity through collective group experience.[103] In Soviet studies, Malte Rolf's work on mass celebrations in the Soviet Union has examined the feeling of ecstasy (*Rausch*, *vostorg*) that purportedly resulted from identification with the collective and communal purpose during such events.[104] One such site of 'affective community' in the cinema of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union is musical performances. In foregrounding the music, such scenes heighten its emotional and affective appeal, whilst characters experience the music collectively on-screen. A sense of community is further encouraged through alignment with the character(s) auditory and affective experience.

Humour, too, can serve an integrative function, as differences in jokes and laughter help define roles in a social group.[105] Rose Laub Coser, for instance, has demonstrated

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[99] Laurance F. Schaffer, Beverly von Haller Gilmer and Max Schoen, *Psychology*, (New York: Harper, 1940); Robert Sessions Woodworth, *Psychology… Twelfth edition, revised and enlarged*, (London: Methuen & Co., 1940); Kimball Young, *Social Psychology: An Analysis of Social Behaviour*, Fifth Edition, (New York: Crofts, 1936).

[100] Much of David Hume's work covers emotions at length. His most notable contribution on the subject is Hume, *A Treaties of Human Nature 2: Of the Passions*, (London: John Noon, 1739), reprinted as David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, P.H. Nidditch (ed.), (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

[101] Norbert Schwartz, 'Feeling-as-Information Theory,' in P. Van Lange, A. Kruglanski, and E.T. Higgins (eds.), *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd., 2012), pp. 289-308.

[102] Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual.*

[103] Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Carol Cosman (ed.), abridged with Introduction and Notes by Mark S. Cladis, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Émile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss, *Primitive Classification*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

[104] Malte Rolf, *Soviet Mass Festivals, 1917-1991*, (Pittsburgh, PEN: University Press, 2013).

[105] Stephen Fox, 'The Ethnography of Humour and the Problem of Social Reality,' *Sociology*, 24:3, (August 1990), pp. 431-446. Whether or not humour is classified as an emotion is a contested issue and one which I will address in Chapter Three. See Noël Carrol, *Humour: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 201
4), pp. 55-75.

that humour contributes to a 'reaffirmation of the collectivity and of the values held in common' by creating a shared interpretation of a set of circumstances.[106] Comedy was important to filmmaking in both the Nazi and Soviet context. The Soviet regime called for the creation of a specifically *Soviet* form of comedy that would reflect the supposed joyful contemporary reality and the Nazi party criticised the negative satirical humour they coded as 'Jewish.' In both contexts, comedy was to create positive communal emotional responses and not emotions that could provoke anarchic responses.

Positive emotions such as ecstasy and awe, when experienced collectively, helps foster the sense of communal identity whilst fear, hatred, and disgust can sharpen group boundaries.[107] Experiments carried out in the 1980s and early 1990s demonstrated that the 'induction of fear of death has been shown to increase group solidarity and outgroup derogation.'[108] Death scenes within Nazi and Soviet cinema contain strong traces of an attempt to manage spectator responses. Discourse, particularly in the Nazi context, refers to death scenes as potentially subversive aspects that could encourage the wrong sort of emotional response. Music is foregrounded during scenes of death in Nazi and Soviet cinema and often the emotional tone of the music is incongruous with the feelings of loss or sadness that we might expect to accompany death on-screen. Not only this, but in connecting the death of individuals to the collective cause through images and musical continuity editing, the films shift the attention away from negative feelings towards celebratory expressions of community.

Defining Affective Communities

As Benedict Anderson states: 'Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.'[109] The cultural constructions of emotional experience reify and perpetuate cultural ideologies and power structures. However, whilst Anderson's national communities are 'imagined,' I have chosen to use the term 'affective' as it moves beyond the meaning-construction

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[106] Rose Laub Coser, 'Laughter Among Colleagues,' *Psychiatry*, 23, (1960), pp. 81–99; Coser, 'Some Social Functions of Laughter: A Study of Humor in a Hospital Setting,' *Human Relations*, 12, (1959), pp. 171–82.
[107] D. R. Heise, and J. O'Brien, 'Emotion Expression in Groups,' in M. Lewis & J. M. Haviland (eds.), *Handbook of Emotions*, (New York: Guilford Press, 1993), pp. 489-497.
[108] Jeff Greenberg et al., 'Evidence for Terror Management Theory II: The Effects of Mortality Salience on Reactions to Those Who Threaten or Bolster the Cultural Worldview,' *Journal of Personality and Social* Psychology, 58:2, (Feb, 1990), pp. 308-318, cit. in W Gerrod Parrott (ed.), *Emotions in Social Psychology*, (Philadelphia, Penns.: Psychology Press, 2001), p. 179.
[109] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*: *Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1983), p. 6

processes that are central to Anderson's framework. 'Nation-ness' and nationalism to Anderson are 'cultural artefacts' that are created by political and social cultures in order to provide meaning.[110] As Susan Hayward argues, these cultural artefacts are created by ideology, or in Hayward's own words, 'Ideology […] is the discourse that invests nation with its meaning and is, therefore, no less problematic than the concept of nation-ness.'[111] However, what Anderson and Hayward both leave out is the role affect, feeling and emotion plays in defining social groups and communities.

Film are affected by the communities that produce them as much as they affect their spectators – in Spinoza's terms, the *affectus* lies both with the community and the films.[112] This thesis examines the ways in which films from the Third Reich and the Soviet Union contributed to and were created by their affective communities. The application of affect theory to films must also take into consideration the historical context and factors that would influence the historic audience. As Massumi states, 'The body doesn't just absorb pulses or discrete stimulations; it infolds *contexts*, it infolds volitions and cognitions that are nothing if not situated.'[113] In other words, our affective reactions are determined not only by the moment and event but by all that we have experienced prior to this point. For Roy G. D'Andrade, culture is a 'learned systems of meaning, communicated by means of natural language and other symbol systems, having representational, directive, and affective functions, and capable of creating cultural entities and particular senses of reality.'[114] Culture therefore helps to create, through representational as well as affective means, a distinct form of subjectivity. In addition, as demonstrated in the previous section, the emotions and feelings that result from the affective functions is also crucial in defining inclusion or exclusion from such communities. As such, 'affective communities' is intended as an umbrella term that incorporates the ideological and emotional attachments individuals made to these communities, whilst emphasising the role of affect in shaping these attachments.

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[110] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities.*
[111] Susan Hayward, *French National Cinema*, (London/New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 4.
[112] See Spionoza, *The Ethics.*
[113] Brain Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 30.
[114] Roy G. D'Andrade, 'Cultural Meaning Systems,' in R.A. Shweder and R.A. Le Vine (eds.), *Culture Theory: Essay on Mind, Self, and Emotion*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 116.

In the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, the concept of a national community that transcended class divisions was a central part of both ideological projects.[115] Writing about the Third Reich, Fritzsche states, 'Social and political realities were increasingly interpreted through the lens of community rather than the lens of class.'[116] The propaganda concept of *Volksgemeinschaft* provided the promise of social and political unity through a national resurgence. In the 1960s (when scholars turned to the social history of Nazi Germany) the *Volksgemeinschaft* was examined in terms of its failure to overcome class divisions in society[117] and in the 1980s this shifted towards a focus on Nazi race policies. The *Volksgemeinschaft* was used to explain the cooperation and complicity of German citizens in the genocidal project – it was presented as a successful tool of indoctrination. However, the extent to which the concept was successful or not is difficult to determine. As Ian Kershaw has outlined, the concept has come to be used in three distinct but overlapping ways in recent scholarship: it has been used to examine changed social and power relations; it has been examined from the perspective of social mobilisation, as a term for 'affective integration'; and it has been analysed from the angle of racial inclusion and exclusion.[118] It is the second approach, which focuses on the *promise* of social unity, rather than any supposed social reality, that concerns us here.

The racist ideology at the root of the conceptualisation of the *Volk* is apparent in the films of the Third Reich and this will be addressed. However, films that directly address racial exclusion or the exclusion of those classed as *Gemeinschaftsfremde* (alien/foreign to the community) are in the minority. The cinemagoing audience was to be a model of the *Volksgemeinschaft* and the focus in popular cinema of the Third Reich was on their 'affective integration' into the national community. In other words, the films

[115] The extent to which the Nazi state actually promoted greater social equality is the subject of current enquiries. The general consensus is that the Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft* should be understood as a pseudo-egalitarian project. See Andreas Wirsching, '*Volksgemeinschaft* and the Illusion of 'Normality' from the 1920s to the 1940s,' in Martina Steber and Bernhard Gotto (eds.), *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 149-156.
[116] Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich*, p. 17.
[117] David Schoenbaum, *Hitler's Social Revolution: Class and Status in Nazi Germany 1933-1939*, (New York: Knopf Doubleday, 1967), pp. 283-286; Timothy W. Mason, *Arbeiterklasse und Volksgemeinschaft: Dokumente und Materialien zur deutschen Arbeiterpolitik 1936-1939*, (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1975); for an overview of the concept with regards to historiographical trends, see Hans Mommsen, 'Changing Historical Perspectives on the Nazi Dictatorship,' *European Review,* 17:1, (2009), pp. 73-80.
[118] Ian Kershaw, '*Volksgemeinschaft*: Potential and Limitations of the Concept,' in Steber and Gotto (eds.), *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany*, pp.31-36.

themselves address the national community, from which *Gemeinschaftsfremde* were violently excluded.

In the Soviet Union, the relationship between 'Soviet' identity and *natsional'nost'* (national identity or ethnic identity) was complicated. In part this was due to the Marxist position that 'nation', both in terms of a political nation state and an affective group identity, was a remnant of capitalism and would become irrelevant under socialism, which would eradicate both class and national boundaries. However, the sheer size of the Soviet Union complicated this stance as it became clear that distinct national identities did exist, and it would not be easy to just disavow them. From the 1930s onwards, the Soviet Union advertised itself as a multi-ethnic federal state, and national territories were drawn up and ascribed group ethnic identities that often did not reflect the pre-revolutionary situation.[119] Citizens in these individual territories were considered both Soviet and ethnic, and as the image of 'Soviet' identity took on stronger Russiocentric tones during and after the Second World War, members of ethnic nationalities came to occupy a position as simultaneously part of the community and 'Other' to it. On the one hand ethnic diversity was celebrated, whilst at the same time a hierarchy of nationalities was upheld through the equation of 'Sovietness' with 'Russian.' The affective community represented in the films of this era is that of an overarching ideal Soviet community that transcended ethnic differences.

In selecting films for study, I started by looking at the most popular films in each regime for the obvious reason that they were effective in their appeal to mass audiences. Many of the films appear regularly in secondary literature on the topic and were heavily publicised at the time of their release. As such, the wealth of contextual discourse makes them interesting case studies as the films became embroiled in the definitional processes of each national cinema. With my focus on affective community, I have also selected films that foreground the concept of community in one way or another and help to define what these communities were and were not.

[119] Mark Bassin and Catriona Kelly (eds.), *Soviet and Post-Soviet Identities*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 3-4.

Chapter One
The Heart and the Matter: Comparative Contexts

The film industries in the Third Reich and the Soviet Union were tools for the dissemination of ideology and propaganda as well as entertainment industries subject to market logic. Both regimes recognised the need to balance commerce and ideology. However, the position that individual films occupy on the entertainment-enlightenment spectrum does vary considerably, with the Third Reich producing more films that appear to contain little to no overt political message, whilst canonical socialist realist films in the Soviet Union followed a tight plot formula that was rooted in socialist ideology. This tension between entertainment and enlightenment is at the heart of filmmaking in both regimes and many of the discrepancies that emerge when closely examining the films can be explained in terms of differing conceptions of entertainment and propaganda as well as differences within the film industry structures.

Scholarship that compares Stalin with Hitler often refers to differences in their approach to leadership. Whilst Stalin was a 'committee man'[120] and an interventionist leader,[121] Hitler distanced himself from the machinery of government and instead delegated briefs through a series of 'leader-retinue structures', which gave Hitler's deputies considerable power in the running and operation of their areas of responsibility.[122] In the Third Reich it was Joseph Goebbels who personally adapted and commented on film scripts and reviewed films prior to their release (often before they were even finished), whilst in the Soviet Union it was Stalin himself who carried out this role. Goebbels considered himself a cinephile but saw the masses as unintelligent and unable to appreciate and understand high art.[123] As such, he demanded simple plots that they would understand at the same time as films he deemed to be of high artistic quality.

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[120] Ronald Grigor Suny, 'Stalin and His Stalinism: Power and Authority in the Soviet Union, 1930-53,' in Ian Kershaw and Moshe Lewin (eds.) *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 26-51.
[121] Ian Kershaw, 'Working Towards the Führer' Reflections on the Nature of the Hitler Dictatorship,' *Contemporary European History* 2:2 (1993), p. 91.
[122] Yoram Gorlizki and Hans Mommsen, 'The Political (Dis)Orders of Stalinism and National Socialism,' in Geyer and Fitzpatrick (eds.) *Beyond Totalitarianism*, p. 56. The term 'retinue structures' is taken from Martin Broszat, *The Hitler State: The Foundation and Development of the Internal Structure of the Third Reich,* John W. Hiden (trans.) (London and New York: Longman, 1981), p. 276.
[123] For example, diary entry 10 October 1940, when discussing Uber Alles in der Welt (Above All in the World) Goebbels wrote 'Absolutely naïve and primitive, but could well be a big hit with the public.' Joseph Goebbels, *The Goebbels Diaries, 1939-1941*, Fred Taylor (ed.), (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 137.

He understood propaganda to be ineffective if the spectator was aware that they were being manipulated and as such promoted a false separation of entertainment from propaganda, framing entertainment as apolitical in contrast to the propaganda films. On the other hand, Stalin did not promote a distinction between propaganda and entertainment, with socialist realism designed to collapse the boundary between these two categories. Whilst both Goebbels and Stalin were acutely concerned with subversive readings of the films, Stalin often relied on his own readings of the films as well as the politicians invited to his private screenings, whilst Goebbels often made the distinction between his own, intellectual, appreciation of the films and that of the masses, attempting to second-guess their responses.[124]

As Goebbels did not promote an 'official aesthetic' as such and the film studios continued to produce a variety of entertainment films that passed the censorship processes, there are less noticeable aesthetic shifts amongst the films of the Third Reich. Goebbels maintained his position at the head of the film industry and the central infrastructure remained fairly constant throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s, with the exception of the gradual move towards the creation of the Ufi Group, a state-owned umbrella organisation encompassing all film studios. On the other hand, the constant re-shuffling and re-organisation of the industry in the Soviet Union was accompanied with changes in leadership positions. All the while, Stalin gave vague instructions, made unrealistic demands and rarely offered solutions to his criticisms. Hence, industry figures and filmmakers were forced into a game of high-stakes trial and error, the effects of which were played out in aesthetic approaches. For example, each film by the popular filmmaker Grigoriy Aleksandrov presents a different approach to socialist realism based on Stalin's response to his last film (as well as reviews in the press) and thus his films can be read as documents of shifting ideas about appropriate forms of entertainment in the Soviet Union.[125]

Whilst there have been previous attempts to argue for the existence of a totalitarian aesthetic, in terms of the art and culture produced under the regimes, they often take for granted a uniformity that is not as wide-spread as these arguments would assume. This is especially true for Nazi Germany, where an official 'style' was never

[124] ibid.
[125] See Rimgaila Salys, *The Musical Comedy Films of Grigorii Aleksandrov: Laughing Matters* (Bristol: Intellect, 2009).

defined.[126] A discernible 'fascist aesthetic', such as that outlined by Susan Sontag in 1975,[127] can be found in the big-budget propaganda films of Leni Riefenstahl or Fritz Hippler, but there are also many films that are not so easily identified as 'fascist'. In fact, many films would be better described in Sabine Hake's words as 'impoverished, derivative versions of Hollywood films.'[128] However, both regimes did share an understanding of culture as central to the shaping of society and maintained that art had the capacity to affect the world-view of the spectator.[129] Art was to be didactic and accessible to the people and both regimes also promoted an aesthetic ideal that was based on a blend of realism with the representation of a projected society in which their ideological goals had been fulfilled. In other words, life was to be shown not as it was, but as it ought to be.

Beyond Realism

In the Soviet Union, unlike the Third Reich, this aesthetic ideal was given a name (socialist realism) and was formally launched at the first All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934. Here, it was defined as:

> the truthful, historically concrete representation of reality in its revolutionary development. Moreover, the truthfulness and historical concreteness of the artistic representation of reality must be linked with the task of ideological transformation and education of workers in the spirit of socialism.[130]

The 'representation of reality in its revolutionary development' called for artists to synthesise this 'truthful' representation of reality with the image of the Communist future, guiding the workers towards this ideal state. However, socialist realism is difficult to define, not least because it was applied in varying ways as policies and personnel changed throughout the 1930s and 1940s. In filmmaking, at its most basic level, it functioned similarly to a genre, with a master plot that simultaneously emphasized

[126] See Igor Golomstock, *Totalitarian Art: in the Soviet Union, the Third Reich, Fascist Italy, and the People's Republic of China*, Robert Chandler (trans.) (New York: Overlook Press, 2011).
[127] Susan Sontag, 'Fascinating Fascism', *The New York Review of Books* (6 February 1975).
[128] Hake, *Popular Cinema in the Third Reich*, p. 12
[129] Richard Overy. *The Dictators: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia.* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 2004), p. 352.
[130] Andrei Zhdanov, *Essays on Literature, Philosophy, and Music* (New York: International Publishers, 1950), pp. 7-15.

Marxist historicism, realism and populism, representing a utopian vision of Soviet reality.[131]

As previously stated, in the Third Reich no such 'official style' was defined. However, in a speech on 28 March 1933, Goebbels stated that 'art has the duty and the task to transform life, to elevate, to condense, to intensify, and then to represent', and that it should reflect a 'better, purer, and more authentic world.'[132] Here, the word order employed by Goebbels places the transformation of reality above truthful representation, making it clear that the all-embracing ideal was more important than reality itself. Both regimes explained art's value in teleological terms.

The combination of elements of realism on the one hand and illusionism on the other is intrinsic to myth construction, which is fundamental to the films of both the Third Reich and the Soviet Union. Maxim Gorky stated in his report on Soviet literature that:

> Myth is invention. To invent means to extract from the sum of a given reality its cardinal idea and embody it in imagery – that is how we got realism. But if to the idea extracted by the given reality we add – completing the idea, by the logic of hypothesis – the desired, the possible, and thus supplement the image, we obtain that romanticism which is at the basis of myth and is highly beneficial in that it tends to provoke a revolutionary attitude to reality, an attitude that changes the world in a practical way.[133]

The revolutionary romanticism of which Gorky writes can clearly be witnessed in Socialist Realist films and the romanticism that results from the blending of realism with the desired is also central to Nazi filmmaking. This appropriation of romanticism is reflected in Goebbels' 1933 statement that the arts in Germany would be 'romantic', 'sentimental', and 'factual'.[134] Art in both the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany was to be heroic and romantic. To some degree, the influence of romanticism (particularly national romanticism) can be witnessed more clearly in the films from the Third Reich, where realism plays a smaller role.

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[131] For an in-depth look at this master plot, see Clark, *The Soviet Novel*.
[132] Hake. *Popular Cinema in the Third Reich*. p. 175.
[133] Maxim Gorky, 'Soviet Literature,' in *Problems of Soviet Literature: Reports and Speeches at the First Soviet Writers' Conference*, H.G. Scott (ed.) (London: Martin Lawrence Limited, 1935), p. 44.
[134] Stephanie Barron, *Degenerate Art: the Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*, (New York: Abrams, 1991), p. 174.

Cinematic realism meant different things in each context. *Realismus* as a term was avoided in the Third Reich due to its associations with socialism.[135] Advertising and press materials often praised films for their *Wirklichkeitsnähe* (closeness to reality) and the term became a marker of value that (in turn) emphasized the importance of filmmaking. A 'closeness to reality' was understood to strengthen identification processes for the spectator and increase the didactic potential of the film. The films' reality effects in this context were more about contemporary relevance as a tool to attract spectators than social realism or commentary, which was linked to Weimar filmmaking.[136]

In the Soviet Union, there was not the same need to distance filmmaking from a prior 'realist' tradition; in fact the truth claims linked with realism perpetuated the ideological link between realist aesthetics and political filmmaking. However, there was a move away from realism as social critique, except when referencing the bourgeois past or the capitalist West, where realism was used as a tool to legitimize the regime. The idealized version of socialist reality that was to be shown left little room for critique.[137] Realism, instead, worked to situate the socialist utopia firmly within contemporary society in order to present a clear path towards this goal. In addition, there was an emergence of films that celebrated cinema's illusionary potential. As was also the case in Nazi Germany, the use of realism or *Wirklichkeitsnähe* helped to define a national cinema that was distinct from Hollywood and its 'excesses', strengthening the sense that the films were produced by and for the national community. For example, there is a high degree of diegetic pre-existing music in the cinema of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, which helps to foster the sense that the film emerged from contemporary reality, borrowing from the soundscape that existed outside of the cinema.

Sabine Hake's study of the discourse surrounding *Wirklichkeitsnähe* in the Third Reich concludes that despite the attention afforded to the concept in the press, these theories were almost never applied to specific films. For Hake, this is demonstrative of the separation of theory from practice that allowed for the 'phantasmagoric constructions that sustained cinema as a whole, including in its contradictions.'[138] One of

[135] Overy, *The Dictators*, p. 356.
[136] See Taylor, *Film Propaganda,* pp. 138-141 for discussion of realism and proletarian cinema.
[137] This caused particular problems for the comedy genre as filmmakers became less and less sure what could be laughed at. See Chapter Three, especially 'The "Problem" of Comedy in the Soviet Union', for more on this.
[138] Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich*, p. 173.

the crucial differences between the situation in Germany and the Soviet Union is the fact that the Nazi party took over an already established film industry, whilst in Russia the industry was only nascent after the revolution. The industry had already established systems of production and consumption and this resulted in compromises for the Nazi party.[139] In the early years of Nazi rule, there was an inherent inconsistency within the state's film policy. On the one hand, it appeared as though the state supported the large production studios and wished to allow them some degree of independence; on the other hand, film studios in Nazi Germany were ultimately answerable to the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* [RMVP] and the censorship office.[140]

However, whilst the in-depth theories of realism and illusion may not have referred to specific films, an attempt to create films with relevance for a contemporary audience is central to filmmaking in the Third Reich. When comparing the films of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union with Hollywood, it is noticeable that there is a much higher degree of cinematic 'realism'. In terms of the use of music, music tended to be more firmly rooted within the diegesis of the film and pre-existing music was commonly used.[141] In addition, the film scores are much sparser, often containing little more than a couple of songs and an opening theme. Of course, there are exceptions to these points (particularly in Nazi Germany) but the larger trend for sonic realism is noticeable enough to warrant further consideration.

In her comparison of the Nazi melodrama with the Hollywood version, Laura Heins argues that the appropriation of realist aesthetics could be due to financial constraints and a lack of ability on the part of directors, rather than any deliberate aesthetic choice.[142] As has been well documented, the mass emigration of high-profile filmmakers vastly impacted the film industry in the Third Reich. With the introduction of the *Reichsfilmkammer* [RFK] in July 1933 and the *Reichsmusikkammer* [RMK] the state gained the power to control access to the film and music professions. The combination of racial profiling and compulsory membership meant that Jewish filmmakers and

[139] Yoram Gorlizki and Hans Mommsen make a similar point with reference to the economic and political structures in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. See Gorlizki and Mommsen, 'The Political (Dis)Orders of Stalinism and National Socialism,' pp. 41-86.
[140] Klaus Kreimeier, *The Ufa Story: A History of Germany's Greatest Film Company* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), p. 225.
[141] Chapter Two examines this trend in depth, arguing that such scenes act as moments of mediation that fosters the sense of an affective community.
[142] Heins, *Nazi Film Melodrama*, pp. 23-30.

musicians were prevented from working and many left the country. Some exceptions were initially made for Jewish filmmakers of considerable reputation such as Reinhold Schünzel;[143] however, these exceptions would be revoked later in the decade, when Goebbels intensified the attack on the so-called 'Jewish infiltration' of the industry. Whilst the Third Reich undoubtedly exiled a huge proportion of its most experienced filmmakers, the argument that realism was due to a lack of ability on the part of directors does not account for high-profile directors such as Veit Harlan or for the ideological claims made about *Wirklichkeitsnähe* in the press.

However, the emigration of filmmakers and actors from the Third Reich did result in a drop in productivity as well as expensive settlement payments.[144] At the time that the Nazi party came to power, the film industry was already suffering an economic crisis. The Depression, as well as competition from Hollywood, had resulted in a wave of bankruptcies in the industry that would make it predisposed for state intervention. The *Filmkreditbank* [FKB] was created in June 1933 and offered low-interest loans at pre-production stage to help subsidize new productions. The FKB was a conglomeration of the leading German banks, industry groups and government representatives, who were afforded considerable power over which films were financed. As Jürgen Spiker states, this created a 'new version of that alliance between the film industry, major banks, and representatives of the state.'[145] Negative taxation was also introduced, which lowered the entertainment tax from 10.5 to 8 per cent. In addition, the 1934 Reich Film Law instated considerable tax cuts for productions that were given the label 'politically valuable', strengthening this alliance. Whilst the studios welcomed the financial support of the state in the form of the FKB, this came at a price. Firstly, in order to secure funding, film scripts were required to go through pre-production censorship. As Kreimeier notes, the pre-production censorship did not conflict with the interests of Germany's 'essentially conservative film industry' and the creation of the *FKB* was similar to plans outlined in an earlier proposal by the *Spitzenorganisation der Deutschen Filmindustrie* [SPIO].[146] However, uncertainty over the materials produced caused considerable financial losses to the company, as did the loss of foreign business resulting from a boycott of German

[143] Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich*, p. 25. Schünzel's film *Viktor und Viktoria* [1933] is the case study film in Chapter Three.
[144] Kreimeier, *The Ufa Story*, pp. 224-226.
[145] Jürgen Spiker, *Film Und Kapital: Der Weg Der Deutschen Filmwirtschaft Zum Nationalsozialistischen Einheitskonzern*, (Berlin: Völker Spiess, 1975). p. 98.
[146] Kreimeier, *The Ufa Story*, p. 224.

films abroad. In terms of its own goal of providing economic stability to the film industry, the National Socialist restructuring of the industry was far from successful and limited budgets would undoubtedly have affected the quantity of music commissioned, which could help explain the relatively sparse soundtracks. Not only this, but the production costs of full orchestral scores might also have played a part in the prevalence of diegetic song and the use of pre-existing music.

In the Soviet Union, the emigration of filmmakers and composers was less of a problem going into the 1930s. However, Jamie Miller's work on the industry infrastructure and economics revealed that the development of the film industry in the Soviet Union was greatly hindered by a lack of technical equipment, for which it still relied on the West, as well as a lack of technical personnel.[147] Without the knowledge required to produce the necessary production and distribution equipment, the Soviet film industry was limited in the number of films it could produce as well as how widely and quickly it could screen new productions. Screenings in workers clubs, for instance, were limited to films that were several years old. This, in turn, limited the funds generated by the industry and what was made was taxed heavily. The remains were then invested back into the production of technical equipment. As such, the industry struggled financially and sometimes had to rely on state loans.[148] In particular, a shortage of sound film recording and projection equipment meant that the transition to sound film happened gradually in the Soviet Union and silent films were still being produced well into the 1930s.[149]

The Attacks Against Musical 'Illustration'

In the Soviet Union, a sustained attack against musical 'illustration' in *Iskusstvo Kino* during the 1930s by composers picked up on this trend for diegetic music.[150] For instance, in 1935 the music critic Mikhayl Cheremukhin argued that musical illustration (music that was seen to illustrate the visuals, rather than serving its own function) is based on a form of naïve realism, in which diegetic source music is privileged.[151] Whilst many of the articles written on film music in the 1930s argue for its importance and potential, they

[147] Jamie Miller, 'Soviet Cinema, 1929-41: The Development of Industry and Infrastructure,' *Europe-Asia Studies*, 58:1 (January, 2006), pp. 103-124.
[148] ibid. p. 122.
[149] For example, *Schast'ye* [*Happiness*], d. Aleksandr Medvedkin, s. Aleksandr Medvedkin, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1935).
[150] For an in-depth discussion on this debate see Bartig, 'Kinomuzyka', pp. 181-192.
[151] Mikhail Cheremukhin, 'Rol' Kompozitora v Kino', *Iskusstvo Kino* 11 (1935) pp. 50-51, cit. in Bartig, 'Kinomuzyka', p. 185.

rarely offer clear suggestions for its use. For composer Lev Knipper, illustration music did not utilise the full emotional potential of music,[152] whilst Cheremukhin argued that illustration denies music its own narrative function.[153] Dmitriy Gachev called for the realisation of Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* and criticised the use of predictable 'stock' music for illustration through the medium of film.[154] Complaints against the use of music as 'illustration' is common amongst film composers in other countries at the time and a similar discourse can also be found in the Nazi film press. On the one hand, such concerns reflect insecurities around the perceived subservient position of music in film and articulate the composers' need for self-validation. On the other hand, it reflects an on-going attempt to develop a varied theory of music in sound film during the medium's first decade.

In the film press in Nazi Germany two main criticisms dominated discussion on the role of music in film: firstly, the use of illustration music that was subservient to the images[155] and secondly the use of *Schlager*, which was considered low-brow and of little artistic value.[156] Walter Gronostay wrote in 1936, 'Right now it is either Schlager, or just illustration' and music 'should not just illustrate, but be a constitutive part of the scene.'[157] For Hermann Wanderscheck, the two types of music went hand-in-hand as *Schlager* could never be more than illustration in his opinion.[158] As was the case with the debates surrounding music in the Soviet press, the criticisms (usually written by composers) reflect anxieties around the value of music in film and rather than highlighting productive ways forward, they instead criticise what they saw as the main uses of music in film. Some, such as Winfrid Zillig argued that the value of music rested in its ability to carry the 'spiritual/emotional tensions' of the film.[159]

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[152] Lev Knipper. 'Kino i Muzïka', *Iskusstvo Kino,* 4, (1936) p. 42.
[153] Cheremukhin, 'Rol' Kompozitora v Kino', pp. 50-51.
[154] Dmitriy Gachev, 'Muzïka v Zvukovom Kino', *Iskusstvo Kino,* 4, (1934) pp. 34-42, cit. in Bartig, 'Kinomuzyka', pp. 184-185.
[155] See Kurt Schröder, 'Musikalische "Illustration",' *Film-Kurier* (27 September, 1934).
[156] Hermann Wanderscheck, 'Das aktuelle Problem: Dramatische Filmmusik,' *Film-Kurier* (5 November, 1938). For an in-depth look at this debate, see Christelle Georgette Le Faucheur, *Defining Nazi Film: The Film Press and the German Cinematic Project, 1933-1945* [PhD Diss] (University of Texas, 2012).
[157] Walter Gronostay, 'Gibt es Musikfilme?' Film-Kurier (20 November, 1936) cit. in La Faucheur, Defining Nazi Film, p. 230.
[158] Hermann Wanderscheck, 'Das aktuelle Problem: Dramatische Filmmusik'.
[159] Winfrid Zillig, 'Meine Musik zum "Schimmelreiter,"' *Film-Kurier* (15 January, 1934) cit. Le Faucheur, *Defining Nazi Film*, p. 230.

The institutional structure also perpetuated a divide between filmmakers and composers that hindered collaborative working models. The situation for film composers was unique within the industry, as they were required to be a member of the music chamber but need not join the film chamber unless they were employed directly by a film studio, which was not commonly the case at this time.[160] There were initially plans to create an advisory board within the RFK to cover film music, but these were not followed through to completion.[161] Frequent complaints were made by composers in the Nazi film press about their lack of involvement in the filmmaking process. Significant changes were often made without their knowledge resulting in quick changes to the film score. It was not unusual for a composer to be given only a few days to compose a score for a film they had often not even seen.[162] They were also rarely involved in the filmmaking process from an early stage, instead being drafted in at the end. In a 1938 article introducing Wolfgang Zeller in *Der deutsche Film*, Leonhard Fürst wrote: 'It is a pity that film professionals have no understanding of music. They really have no clue, otherwise they would have opened the barricaded path to film music long ago.'[163] In 1941 a long discussion on the 'issue' of film music appeared in *Film-Kurier,* in which participants voiced dissatisfaction with the current situation. Composers and producers were blamed for the perceived poor quality of music films in particular and each camp directed the blame towards the other.[164] A particularly interesting idea that composers ought to write narratives as well as music was presented by the producer and *Reichsfilmdramaturg*, Ewald von Demandowsky.[165] The proposal relates to the ongoing calls for composers who understood how film works as well as directors who understood music.[166] The concept of an all-knowing director, who understood all aspects of filmmaking (particularly writing, directing and composing)

[160] Reimar Volker, '*Per aspera ad astra* and back again: film music in Germany from 1927 to 1945,' in *European Film Music,* Miguel Mera and David Burnand (eds.) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 13-27
[161] ibid., p. 20.
[162] 'Talent, Könner und Plagiatoren,' *Film-Kurier* (5 April, 1934); 'Vom Paukenschlag der lyrischen Stelle…,' *Film-Kurier* (28 June, 1934).
[163] Leonhard Fürst, 'Deutsche Filmmusiker. IV Wolfgang Zeller,' *Der deutsche Film*, 7 (January, 1938), p. 195, cit. in Le Faucheur, *Defining Nazi Film*, p. 214, fn. 680.
[164] For an outline of the debate, see Le Faucheur, *Defining Nazi Film*, pp. 234-240.
[165] Ewald von Demandowsky, 'Film und Musik. Erklärungen über den Musikfilms,' *Film-Kurier,* (July 15, 1941). cit. in Le Faucheur, *Defining Nazi Film*, p. 236.
[166] See 'Die Diskussion. Zur Frage des Musikfilms. Zwei Antworten auf unsern Appell an die Komponisten. Franz Grothe: Der Komponist wird zu spät mit dem Stoff vertraut gemacht. Franz R. Friedl: Arbeitsgemeinschaften von Komponisten und Autoren m ßten vermittelt werden,' in *Film-Kurier*, (July 11, 1941), cit. Le Faucheur, *Defining Nazi Film*, p. 235, fn. 772.

was promoted in the film press.[167] The practice of having production units in studios named after and led by individual producers can also be seen to be linked to the idea of a distinguishable 'author' of the film text, complete with a degree of 'authorial' style and as Erica Carter has argued, 'both ideology and industry practice cohered around the concept of the artistic "personality" as both a leader figure in the political-ideological sense, and as the embodiment of a racialized version of the genius figure.'[168]

Similarly, in the Soviet Union much of the discussion in *Iskusstvo* and *Kino* focussed on a perceived gulf between the potential of film music and its practical application.[169] The most prominent voices in the discussion – composers - directed blame towards film directors who were characterised as having no understanding of music. Vladimir Shcherbachev, for instance, bemoaned the fact that directors did not even have a basic understanding of music let alone the knowledge needed to produce complex counterpoint between sound and image.[170] Elsewhere, Dmitriy Shostakovich called for composers to study the technologies of film in order to learn how to write better music for film.[171] Following the 1928 Cinema Resolution that called for the use of distinguished and highly-qualified composers for film music, Lenfil'm set out to find a local composer for *Novïy Vavilon* [*New Babylon,* 1928-29][172] and decided on Shostakovich. The decision to outsource composers caused hostility amongst silent in-house film composers. After *Novïy Vavilon*, Shostakovich worked closely with Grigoriy Kozintsev, Leonid Trauberg and their production team for decades. As Emma Widdis states, the ideological value of 'collectivity' led to the formation of film-making groups in the 1920s[173] and these creative units continued to operate alongside one another in Lenfil'm throughout the 1930s and '40s. Shostakovich was not alone in his long-term partnership with individual directors. Sergey Prokof'yev worked closely with Sergey Eyzenshteyn and the popular music composer Isaak Dunayevskiy frequently worked with both Grigoriy Aleksandrov and

[167] Le Faucheur, *Defining Nazi Film*, pp. 235-236. For an example of the idea of a composer-director, see Hans Schumacher, 'Absolute Film-Musik? Teil des Gesamt-Kunstweks aus schöpferischer Gemeinschaft,' *Film-Kurier,* (June 7, 1934).
[168] Carter, *Dietrich's Ghosts*, pp. 13-14.
[169] Bartig, '*Kinomuzyka*: Theorizing Soviet Film Music in the 1930s'.
[170] Vladimir Shcherbachev, 'Muzïka v kino,' *Iskusstvo kino* 3 (1936), pp. 22-23.
[171] Joan Titus, 'Shostakovich as Film Music Theorist' in Fairclough (ed.), *Twentieth-Century Music and Politics*, pp. 249-261.
[172] *Novïy Vavilon* [*New Babylon*] d. Grigoriy Kozintsev and Leonid Trauberg, s. Grigoriy Kozintsev and Leonid Trauberg, m. Dmitriy Shostakovich, p.c. Sovkino (USSR, 1929).
[173] Emma Widdis, 'Cinema and the Art of Being: Towards a History of Early Soviet Set Design,' in Birgit Beumers (ed.), *A Companion to Russian Cinema,* (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), p. 315.

Ivan Pïr'yev. However, these partnerships were not representative of any standardised practice. Gavriil Popov, for instance, worked with many directors including the Vasil'yev brothers, Eyzenshteyn, Abram Room, Fridrikh Ermler, and Aleksandr Macheret.

Film as Affective and Emotional Tool

Whilst official discourse often highlighted the representative role of art, this representation was a tool to be used in the transformation of society according to each regime's political goals. Art was to be transformative and as such the role of cinema was to foster an affective and emotional relationship between the spectator and the images on screen. When discussing early Soviet cinema, Widdis writes: 'the role of cinema in this period was not to present a picture of the world, but to articulate a relationship with it.'[174]

In the Soviet Union, the creation of a new man involved a sensory revolution. In the Marxist-materialist worldview, where capitalism no longer organised the relationship between bodies and objects, the Soviet individual was to be created in direct relationship with his or her material surroundings.[175] Soviet film theorists and practitioners sought to use film as a means of shaping the individual's relationship to these material surroundings. For Widdis this is a particularity of the Soviet project of sensory realism.[176] She writes, 'Film was a privileged site for the exploration of new modes of perception, a space for working through the complex relationship between body, mind, and world that had particular ideological potency in early Soviet Russia.'[177]

The prevailing mode of sonic representation in the Soviet Union was also realist. Early experiments with film sound emphasis the materiality of the Soviet sonic environment. In *Odna* [*Alone*, 1930][178] the Leningrad school teacher Yelena Kuzima moves from the city to the Altai Mountains and the incorporation of elements of sound design into the soundtrack by Shostakovich, particularly the use of her alarm clock and street sounds in the opening sequence, introduce elements of Yelena's sonic space to the audio track, which is otherwise quite independent of the visual track. An early experiment in sound film, the music accompanies the movement of the actors but there is no dialogue or diegetic sound as such, only an audio track that functions similarly to the concert

[174] Widdis, *Socialist Senses*, p. 10.
[175] For a good introduction to the Marxist-material world view, see Widdis, *Socialist Senses*, p. 1.
[176] ibid. p. 10.
[177] Widdis, *Socialist Senses*, p. 2.
[178] *Odna* [*Alone*], d. Grigoriy Kozintsev and Leonid Trauberg, s. Grigoriy Kozintsev and Leonid Trauberg, m. Dmitriy Shostakovich, p.c. Soyuzkino (USSR, 1931).

pianist in silent film scoring practices. Shostakovich's later score to *Vstrechnïy* [*Counterplan*],[179] which also includes sound design, was described by Kurt London in 1936 in terms of its affective qualities. He writes, 'the use of electrical instruments and special sound effects interwoven with the music presents quite new sensations to the ear.'[180] The phrase 'sensations to the ear' draws attention to the physical affect of sound on the ear drum.

A stronger example of 'haptic aurality', Hans Eisler's score to Joris Ivens' *Pesn o Geroyakh/Komsomol* [*Songs of Heroes,*1932][181] contains radio signal messages which maintain the sonic fidelity of early transmission technology, before the setting moves to the construction of Magnitogorsk, an industrial project to transform the countryside into a country of metal.[182] Eisler collected recordings of sounds and folk songs during a visit to the iron foundry and the sonic space is represented in the film through these sonic artefacts including explosives, early machinery, drills, clashes of metal on metal and factory whistles as well as through snippets of folk song. Through the use of acousmatic sound, the sonic environment is foregrounded, and the sound design takes centre stage. Laura Marks argues that viewers are encouraged to engage haptically with images that are distorted or obscured in some way, as the attention is shifted to the image as material, rather than the object that is represented.[183] Eisler's use of sound design in *Pesn o Geroyakh*, similarly draws attention to the sonic qualities of the sound, encouraging a haptic engagement with the audio.

However, with the adoption of socialist realism, as well as the introduction of dialogue, such avant-garde experiments became increasingly rare. Instead there was a shift towards logocentrism, with the dialogue taking precedent over sound design. In some respects, the preference shown towards diegetic musical performances engages with the materiality of sound through its focus on instruments and the technological means of production, but in showing the source of the music, the combination of audio

[179] *Vstrechnïy* [*Counterplan*], d. Fridrikh Ermler and Sergey Yutkevich, s. Leo Arnshtam, m. Dmitriy Shostakovich, Rosfil'm (USSR, 1932).
[180] Kurt London, *Film Music: A Summary of Characteristic Features of its history, aesthetics, technique and possible developments*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1936), p. 178, cit. Riley, Dmitri *Shostakovich: A Life in Film*, p. 20.
[181] *Pesn o geroyakh/Komsomol* [*Songs of Heroes*], d. Joris Ivens, s. Joris Ivens and Iosif Sklyut, m. Hans Eisler, p.c. Mezhrabpomfil'm (USSR, 1932).
[182] For information on Magnitogorsk, see Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995).
[183] Marks, *The Skin of the Film*, p. 162.

and visual tracks invite the spectator into the diegetic space, rather than drawing attention to the film and sound as material.

The criticisms levelled against illustration music in the Soviet press support the claim that film was not just required to represent the world to the spectator, but to alter their affective relationship with it. Sergey Tret'yakov stated that cinema was to be both an 'intellectualiser' and 'emotionaliser'.[184] Two major theoretical works on film music were published in the late 1930s in the Soviet Union. Ieremia Ioffe's 1938 *Muzïka Sovetskogo Kino: Osnovï Muzïkal'noy Dramaturgiy* [*The Music of Soviet Film: Foundations of Musical Dramaturgy*][185] and Cheremukhin's 1939 *Muzïka Zvukovogo Fil'ma* [*Music of the Sound Film*].[186] Both take as their starting point Boris Asaf'yev's notion of musical 'intonations'.[187] For Asaf'yev, humans learn to associate abstract sounds with concrete referents throughout life and these intonational relationships are carried over into music, where a musical intonation brings associations from the material world with it. In taking Asaf'yev's concept, with its focus on the sonic relationship of individuals to their surroundings, both Ioffe and Cheremukhin locate the semantic and emotional potential of music as being that of a sonic relationship between the world and the individual.

As part of this approach, they also both regard past music as a valuable resource for film as such music brings its own set of established semantic associations. For Cheremukhin, nineteenth century music was particularly well suited to musical expression in film due to its complexity, in opposition to the simplicity of musical images he associated with the Classical era and for Ioffe, the 'heroic' music of the French Revolution was suitable for moments of victory.[188] Whilst Cheremukhin tended to stress the potential for film music to serve an independent narrative role, Ioffe discussed two forms of music: one based on illustration (which he did not see as necessarily bad) and another 'revealing' function of film music in which the music reveals the emotional

[184] Sergey Tret'yakov, 'Chem Zhivo Kino?' p. 25 cit. in Widdis, *Socialist Senses*, p. 5.
[185] Ieremia Ioffe, *Muzïka Sovetskogo Kino: Osnovï Muzïkal'noy Dramaturgiy*, (Leningrad: Gosudarstvennïy muzíkal'nïy Nauchno-issledovatel'skiy Institut, 1938).
[186] Mikhail Cheremukhin, *Muzïka Zvukovogo Fil'ma,* (Moscow: Goskinoizdat, 1938).
[187] Boris Asaf'yev, *Muzïkal'naya Forma Kak Protsess,* (1930). See also Gordon D. McQuere, 'Boris Asafiev and Musical Form as a Process,' in Gordon D. McQuere (ed.) *Russian Theoretical Thought in Music,* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983) pp. 217-252.
[188] Bartig, '*Kinomuzyka*', p. 189.

content of the scene or action.[189] Whilst 'illustration' music helped construct the scene, film music for Ioffe could also reveal a deeper emotional material to the spectator.

Discourse surrounding the effectiveness of cinema in the Third Reich often made a distinction between mind and body, with films criticised for being too cerebral. During a scene in *Tanz auf dem Vulkan* [*Dance on the Volcano*, 1938],[190] the fictional actor Debureau addresses the theatre audience with a speech expressing the emotional and affective role of acting.

> Because it is the greatest thing in the world for me to stand there as the curtain goes up and to know that all the people down there are waiting for you and what you have to say to them. You know their desires and dreams, and you can fulfil them. You know their happiness and misery, you can make them laugh and cry. Night after night you fight with them to conquer their hearts! To enchant them enchants me. They let themselves be led by me and I lead them to where they will be happy: in the eternal realm of art.[191]

The concept of conquering the hearts of the spectators through feeling mirrors the famous speech by Goebbels in *Triumph des Willens* in which he stated, 'It may be a good thing to possess power that rests on arms. But it is better and more lasting to win the heart of a people and to keep it.'[192] The speech promoted the image of Nazism as a populist movement that reflected the desires and wishes of the populace, and in a similar fashion, the scene in *Tanz auf dem Vulkan* comments on the importance of filmmaking in guiding spectators towards eternal happiness. Despite this scene highlighting the affective role of acting, the film itself was criticised by Goebbels in his diaries for being too cerebral, relying too much on the intellect over the heart.[193]

Feeling and emotion, whilst crucial to the transformative potential, do not account for the full affective relationship that was promoted. The botanist and writer Reinhold Conrad Muschler proclaimed in 1933 that:

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[189] Ibid., p. 187.
[190] *Tanz auf dem Vulkan* [*Dance on the Volcano*], d. Hans Steinhoff, s. Hans Rehberg, Hans Steinhoff and Peter Hagen, m. Theo Mackeben, p.c. Majestic-Film GmbH (Germany, 1938).
[191] cit. in Le Faucheur, *Defining Nazi Cinema,* p. 187. (54"14')
[192] Der Kongress zu Nürenberg vom 5. bis 10. September 1934. Offizieller Bericht. (Munich: 1934), cit. in Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany*, p. 142.
[193] See Goebbels' diary entry for November 19, 1938, cit. Le Faucheur, *Defining Nazi Cinema*, p. 184.

> We demand of art, that it genuinely moves us and not just stupefy us with sensations; we demand of art that it probe the foundations of humanity and plumb its ultimate depths; it must show us the breathing of the soul and not, as has been the case for so long, just the pounding of the brain. We want to partake of the rhythmics of the soul, not just the monotonous uniform march of international intellectuals.[194]

Once again, the language used is highly evocative and the focus is placed on physical, bodily responses and on the soul of the spectator. Film was not only to represent the ideal image of society but was to provoke a strong affective response if the film was to be transformative.

Similarly, composers often referred to music's ability to move the spectator emotionally. Hermann Wanderscheck (author of the column *Musikrückblick* in the *Film-kurier*) continually espoused the emotional and affective role of music. Whilst arguing the importance of music in 1942, he used evocative language:

> music can often be more essential than dialogues, actors, or visuals. It can compete with the soul of the image – the image remains silent, but music resounds, roars, paints, rings out in major and minor keys, spreading itself out like a rug over the image or flickering upward like a flame to provide the most powerful expression of redemption and liberation.[195]

The imagery is heavy with religious significance and adopts Enlightenment ideals of the transcendental and redemptive nature of music.[196] The words 'resounds', 'roars' and 'rings out' highlight the affecting nature of musical sound. Sound is not a discrete sonic event, but something that spreads out to meet and affect nearby bodies. One might expect, given the emphasis placed in the Nazi film press on the importance of music in evoking emotion in the spectator, that non-diegetic music would be used frequently during emotional moments in Nazi cinema. Eric Rentschler writes that 'Music worked together with visuals to make the spectator lose touch with conceptual logic and discursive

[194] Reinhold Conrad Muschler, 'Nationalsozialistischer Film?' in *Deutsche Kulturwacht,* 21, (1933) p. 7, cit. Eric Rentschler, 'Emotional Engineering: Hitler Youth Quex,' *Modernism/modernity*, 2:3, (September 1995), p. 34.
[195] Hermann Wanderscheck, 'Die Macht der Musik im Film,' *Film-Kurier,* (19 January 1942); cit. Rentschler, *The Ministry of Illusion*, p. 387.
[196] The link between music and redemption will be discussed in Chapter Four.

frameworks' and suggests that Nazi cinema was even better at using music to manipulate the emotions of the spectator than Hollywood.[197]

However, Goebbels was anxious about the effects of stylistic excess, fearing that spectators may read the films against the grain.[198] He was acutely concerned about the unpredictable nature of spectatorship and such anxieties repeatedly emerge in his diaries. The fact that he personally watched the films prior to their release and made recommendations about how to improve them (just as Stalin did in the Soviet Union) is revealing in itself. His diary entry for 27 January 1939 refers to *Hotel Sacher* [*Hotel Sacher*, 1939][199] as 'Superbly made, but not quite politically watertight. I shall have it re-edited and a few scenes reshot.'[200] Sabine Hake writes that 'By evoking the image of a pressure chamber ['watertight'], Goebbels implies that any excess of representation might threaten the precarious balance between aesthetic and political intentions and give rise to dangerous forms of "reading against the grain."'[201] He treats the film audience with contempt in his diaries, highlighting their inability to understand quality films and their need for simple messages and formulaic stories. On the other hand, he also feared their potential to 'misread' a film and stressed to the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* that it was always imperative to keep an eye on public moods and reactions to films. The *Sicherheitsdienst* (S.D. or secret police) would attend film screenings and report back on audience reactions, including reactions such as cheering or laughing in the theatre and conversations that were overheard outside.[202] These reports were called the *Berichte aus dem Reich* [Reports from the Reich] and many of them revealed that rousing sound tracks were not always successful, and audiences often preferred them to be sparser.[203] In addition, a review for the melodrama film *Das Mädchen Irene* [*The Girl Irene*, 1936][204] commented that 'the use of the orchestra in

[197] Rentschler, *Ministry of Illusion*, pp. 216-217.
[198] Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich*; Heins, *Nazi Film Melodrama*.
[199] *Hotel Sacher* [*Hotel Sacher*] d. Erich Engel, s. Stefan von Kamare and Friedrich Forster, m. Willy Schmidt-Gentner, p.c. Mondial – Internationale Filmindustrie AG (Austria, 1939).
[200] Joseph Goebbels, *The Goebbels Diaries 1939-1941*, Fred Taylor (ed.), (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 8.
[201] Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third* Reich, p. 74.
[202] ibid., p. 75.
[203] S.D. report 3 December 1942, in Boberach, *Meldungen aus dem Reich: Auswahl aus den geheimen Lagberichtungen des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS 1939-1944,* (Munchen: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 1968).; 12:4528; S.D. report 1 April 1943, in Heinz Boberach, *Meldungen aus dem Reich, 1938-1945: die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS, Volume 11,* 13:5040 (Pawlak Verlag, 1984).; Heins, *Nazi Film Melodrama*, p. 30.
[204] *Das Mädchen Irene* [*The Girl Irene*], d. Reinhold Schünzel, s. Reinhold Schünzel and Eva Leidmann, m. Alois Melichar, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1936).

crucial scenes is occasionally a bit overbearing'.[205] As Heins has pointed out, most of the films that Goebbels liked in fact had very little music.[206] Even the Veit Harlan melodrama *Der Herrscher* [*The Ruler*, 1937][207] contains little music despite the fact that Harlan produced many of the most expensive and extravagant films in the Third Reich, undermining the claim that musical sparsity was purely a matter of economic constraints.

Instead of non-diegetic music providing emotional underpinning, song was frequently used to heighten the emotional impact of a scene. In 1942 Wanderscheck carried out a study of all of the songs that 'sneaked into the heart of our soldiers.'[208] However, the use of *Schlager* in film was a contested issue in the press and some criticised what they perceived as 'excessive' use of 'unmotivated' singing.[209] One of the central criticisms levelled against the *Schlager* rested in its commercial nature.

Radio and Recordings: Commodity or Mission? Media Convergence

As Corey Ross has demonstrated, collaboration between radio, cinema and the music industry in the Third Reich resulted in increasing media convergence as the decade progressed.[210] Economic growth in the middle of the 1930s in Germany led to an increase in sales of electric plug-in gramophones that could be attached to most radio systems and the popular hit songs of the sound films were released as records. In 1937 domestic record sales reached 10 million (almost double that of 1935) and rose again to 12 million in 1938.[211] It was of mutual commercial benefit for these strands of media to work closely together in marketing the *Schlager* to mass audiences. By this point, many of the small recording firms were subsidiaries of two large electrical conglomerates (AEG and Siemens & Halske) who also had subsidiaries within the radio and film industries.[212] With economic interests in three strands of the media industry, a close collaboration between the recording and film industry was encouraged by the electrical companies. The songs that appeared in films were recorded and distributed through record sales and the radio

[205] Georg Herzberg, Film Kurier Review, n.p, cit. in Heins, *Nazi Film Melodrama*, p. 30.
[206] Heins, *Nazi Film Melodrama*, p. 30.
[207] *Der Herrscher* [*The Ruler*], d. Veit Harlan, s. Thea von Harbou and Curt J. Braun, m. Wolfgang Zeller, p.c. Tobis-Magna-Filmproduktion GmbH (Germany, 1937).
[208] Hermann Wanderscheck, "Deutsche Filmmusik im abgelaufenen Jahr," *Film-Kurier*, (January 1, 1942) cit. in Le Faucheur, *Defining Nazi Cinema*, p. 244.
[209] Le Faucheur, *Defining Nazi Cinema*, p. 240. See also Horst Hanns Sieber, 'Der Filmchlager hat sich berlebt,' *Film-Kurier*, (October 25, 1934); 'Der "Schlager",' *Film-Kurier*, (March 11, 1936).
[210] Le Faucheur, *Defining Nazi Cinema*¸
[211] 'Schallplatten-Renaissance', *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft* 7 (1938), 1372.
[212] Corey Ross, *Media and the Making of Modern Germany: Mass Communications, Society, and Politics from the Empire to the Third Reich*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

as well as through sheet music sales. Walter Berten wrote in 1937, 'Without question the majority of the populace finds its desire for entertainment and its hunger for music to a great degree satisfied by radio, films, and records.'[213] On a less positive note, Wanderscheck regularly complained about songs that had been overplayed on the radio.[214]

The popular film magazine *Film-welt* showcased prominent film composers with interviews, biographies and musical examples. Tying in to the commercial aspect of film composition, it also often contained printed sheet music with an image of the film's star superimposed over the notes so that readers would still need to buy the sheet music.[215] The celebrity status afforded to composers in the press was more often than not accompanied by statements confirming the essential role of music in film and the film press in Nazi Germany attempted to educate their readers about the importance of music in film. The star-construction processes that accompanied composers were therefore fuelled on the one hand by anxieties over the composers' position in the film-making process and the 'low-brow' status of film music in the Third Reich, and on the other, by commercial considerations. Interviews with composers about their upcoming films served a dual marketing purpose, attempting to encourage consumption of both cinema tickets and record sales.

However, composers frequently belittled the *Schlager* in an attempt to fashion their self-image as a serious, 'high-art' film composer. As Le Faucheur argues, the focus on music in the film press is connected to the understanding of music as central to German national identity[216] and the articles promote an air of cultural respectability that reveals the problematic relationship between entertainment and art in Nazi Germany. Film composers were writing music under the shadow of the nation's identity as home of the 'German Greats' in composition. In stark contrast to the Soviet Union, where the majority of high-profile concert composers wrote music for cinema at one point or another, the distinguished composers that remained in the Third Reich such as Richard Strauss, Carl Orff and Hans Pfitzner did not. Film music was instead written by dedicated film composers, who were looked down upon by fellow musicians in the *FMK*. Traces of

[213] Walter Berten, 'Musik durch Film, Funk und Schallplatte,' *Der Deutsche* Film, 1:7, (January 1937).
[214] Le Faucheur, *Defining Nazi Cinema*, p. 241.
[215] ibid., p. 216.
[216] ibid., p. 206.

this tension can be found within the films of the Third Reich, where classical music composers are frequently depicted as weak and on the fringes of acceptable society, thus justifying the entertainment industry's own populist agenda.[217] Ultimately, the music in films was dictated by the film industry and not by the composers in the *FMK*.

Entertainment films were framed in official discourse as essential forms of escapism. Goebbels frequently distinguished between the '80 per cent good, decent entertainment films on a high artistic level' and the 20 per cent big-budget propaganda films.[218] As Hake writes:

> On the one hand, the identification of popular cinema with escapist entertainment helped to maintain the institutional divisions between high and low culture and between the public and the private spheres of which cinema had always been an integral part. On the other hand, the affinities of popular cinema with consumerism, urbanism, and everyday life dissolved these bourgeois categories of distinction into more elusive configurations between aesthetic and politics, power and desire.[219]

Recent scholarship has moved beyond the dichotomy of entertainment and propaganda and instead examines these films as cultural products of the Third Reich that cannot be explained through this false opposition.[220] The importance and prevalence of *Schlager* in film composition, similarly, cannot be explained purely in terms of commercial entertainment. The criticisms of *Schlager* as a commercial commodity were simultaneously anti-semitic (commercially motivated entertainment was seen as a product of the Jews) and elitist (popular music was considered low-brow). However, there were numerous beneficial functions that *Schlager* played, from initial marketing of films to their role in boosting morale amongst the population. In response to these issues, the *Schlager* was rebranded and revalorised through the film press as a modern German *Volk* song that afforded it an air of cultural (and ideological) respectability that supposedly set it apart from the commercially-motivated Weimar film song.[221]

In the Soviet Union, a cultural shift in the 1930s saw a move from stoic self-denial towards one of celebration, pleasure and consumption, all of which tied into the rhetoric

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[217] See Heldt, 'Hardly Heroes'.
[218] Goebbels, speech on 28 February 1942, reprinted in Gerd Albrecht, *Nationalsozialistische Filmpolitik: Eine soziologische Untersuchung über die Spielfilme des dritten Reiches*, (Stuttgart: Enke, 1969), p. 456.
[219] Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich*, p. x.
[220] ibid.
[221] ibid., p.241. See also Axel Jockwer, 'Unterhaltungsmusik Im Dritten Reich,' [PhD diss.] (University of Konstanz, 2005).

that life had become 'better and happier.'[222] The first five year plan was framed as a huge success and a cause for celebration, in an act of political whitewashing. In the 1930s, 'happiness' entered public discourse and was framed as the reward of socialist reconstruction. Scholars such as Jeffrey Brooks, Sheila Fitzpatrick and Golfo Alexopoulos have noted that the claim that life had improved thanks to the state resulted in a civic obligation to display happiness.[223] As such, a demand rose for cheerful songs of celebration and films that would be uplifting for the masses. Entertainment was not discussed in terms of escapism and distraction (as it was in Nazi Germany) but was instead reframed as a result and reward for which citizens were indebted to the state. As such, entertainment became a political tool in the management of the population.

Popular songs embodied tensions over national boundaries, as 'Western' influences were fought against whilst at the same time, the context of international mass culture led to widespread popularity for Western films and songs. Just like elsewhere, popular music was distributed through radio, records and film. Stars such as Lydia Ruslanova and Vadim Kozin performed hit songs that were recorded and played on the radio[224] and jazz bands such as those led by Aleksandr Tsfasman and Leonid Utesov played in the cities. After the period that has been termed the 'red jazz age' (1932-1936) another crackdown on popular music led to the 'taming' down of jazz and the creation of a 'Soviet' jazz style by the musicians who managed to adapt to the shifting landscape.[225] The widespread popularity of the songs by composers such as Isaak Dunayevskiy, Matvey Blanter and Solovev-Sedoy was facilitated in no small part by cinema and radio.

However, Pauline Fairclough and Marina Frolova-Walker have both demonstrated that whilst such popular genres of music were accepted by the state, the distinction

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[222] See Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 90-95; Catriona Kelly and Vadim Volkov, 'Directed Desires: *Kul'turnost'* and Consumption,' in Catriona Kelly and David Shepherd (eds.) *Constructing Russian Culture in the Age of Revolution: 1881-1940*, (Oxford, 1998) pp. 291-313; Jukka Gronow, *Caviar with Champagne: Common Luxury and the Ideals of the Good Life in Stalin's Russia* (Oxford: 2003); David L. Hoffmann, *Stalinist Values: The Cultural Norms of Soviet Modernity, 1917-1941* (Ithaca, NY/ London: Cornell University Press, 2003); and Julie Hessler, 'Cultured Trade: The Stalinist Turn Toward Consumerism', in Sheila Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Stalinism: New Directions* (London: Taylor & Francis 2000), pp.182-209.

[223] Jeffrey Brooks, *Thank You, Comrade Stalin!: Soviet Public Culture from Revolution to Cold War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); Fitzpatrick, 'Happiness and *Toska*'; and Golfo Alexopoulos, 'Soviet Citizenship, More or Less: Rights, Emotions, and States of Civic Belonging,' *Kritika*, 7 (Summer 2006), pp. 487-528.

[224] See Richard Stites, *Russian Popular Culture: Entertainment and Society Since* 1900, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 71-94.

[225] ibid., p.74-75.

between 'high' and 'low' forms of music was still present during these years.[226] For example, Frolova-Walker has revealed that Stalin himself made this distinction when he rejected the idea to include balalaika music for the first Stalin prize.[227] Such music was not considered to be of the same level as that composed by the major Soviet composers. These distinctions were also upheld by the musical elite, who occupied privileged positions within cultural infrastructure. As Kiril Tomoff has revealed, popular musicians were underrepresented in membership of the Composer's Union leadership, as well as the Stalin Prize Committee, resulting in the unfair distribution of royalties and commissions to members of the musical elite.[228] After the war Shostakovich (who held a leadership position in the union at the time), Khachaturian and Glière called for the expulsion of the so-called 'tunesmiths' from the Composer's Union. Many such composers were demoted or expelled but this was quickly reversed after attracting unwanted attention. What this reveals, however, is that the ongoing antagonism between composers of 'low' music genres and the 'high' art music composers that constituted the musical elite outlasted the Second World War.[229]

Despite their 'low' status, even the musical elite composed songs for film. Much of Shostakovich's success in film composition came through the songs that he composed. His 'Song of the Counterplan' was, in fact, one of the first Soviet mass songs to be composed for film and its popularity outlived its existence as diegetic song in the film.[230] The song was played frequently on the radio after the release of *Vstrechnïy* and John Riley credits it with kick-starting the 'phenomenon of the song score, which would become an almost constant strand in Soviet film music.'[231]

Whilst the comparably high proportion of songs in films from the Third Reich and the Soviet Union were down to commercial considerations (even if consumption itself

[226] Pauline Fairclough, 'Was Soviet Music Middlebrow? Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony, Socialist Realism, and the Mass Listener in the 1930s,' *The Journal of Musicology*, 35:3, (Summer 2018) pp. 336-367; Marina Frolova-Walker *Stalin's Music Prize*: *Soviet Culture and Politics* (New Haven/ London: Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 27-28.
[227] Frolova-Walker, *Stalin's Music Prize*, pp. 27-28. This distinction contains racial tones as balalaika music was associated with ethnic minorities.
[228] Kiril Tomoff, *Creative Union: The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939-1953*, (Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press, 2006).
[229] Pauline Fairclough has convincingly argued that socialist realist music was 'middlebrow' by definition, in its attempt to adapt high art to the masses. See Fairclough, 'Was Soviet Music Middlebrow?' pp. 336-367.
[230] Titus, *The Early Film Music of Dmitry Shostakovich*, p. 126.
[231] Riley, *Dmitri Shostakovich: A Life in Film*, p. 21.

was understood differently in these two contexts) as well as a recognised need for entertainment (even if, again, entertainment itself carried different connotations), there were other benefits that would help to cement the centrality of song in each film scoring tradition. Firstly, logocentrism played a large part in both contexts, where speeches and slogans became the 'official word' of the state. Writing about Soviet cinema, Masha Salazkina states 'The comparably privileged position given to songs could be seen as further evidence of the enduring logocentrism of Soviet cinema, as lyrics greatly contributed to the popularity of film music.'[232] Not only this, but words are easier to censor than gesture, vocal inflections or even music and they add an additional layer of cultural meaning to the film texts, guiding the meaning-making processes of the spectator towards the desired response. In addition, the afterlife afforded to songs through radio and record sales increased their political appeal as the songs could continue to carry ideological messages well beyond the film frame. For example, the 'Song of the Motherland' from the musical film *Tsirk* [*Circus,* 1936][233] became the unofficial national anthem with its celebratory lyrics about the vastness and beauty of the Soviet homeland.

The Genre Film

It was not only the preference shown to song in the cinemas of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union that was driven by market logic as much as ideological factors but also the use of genre as a means of categorization, as a marketing tool and as an aesthetic form. As Susan Hayward writes, 'genres are inflected as much by the capitalist imperatives of the film industry as they are by audience preference and the socio-historical realities of any given period.'[234] Having outlined the popularity of songs in films from the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, it should come as no surprise that the musical genre was very popular in both contexts. However, genre terminology is not straightforward and the association of genre films with Hollywood required their adaption into national products.

The entertainment industry in the Third Reich during the first few years of Nazi rule relied heavily on film imports from Hollywood for income, meaning that Goebbels would have to sacrifice economic stability in order to ban the films.[235] Throughout the

[232] Kaganovsky and Salazkina (eds.), *Sound, Speech, Music in Soviet and Post-Soviet Cinema*, p. 11.
[233] *Tsirk* [*Circus*], d. Grigoriy Aleksandrov, s. Grigoriy Aleksandrov, m. Isaak Dunayevskiy, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1936).
[234] Susan Hayward, *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts*, Fifth Edition (London: Routledge, 1996; London: Routledge, 2018), p. 199.
[235] Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich,* p. 136.

1930s, Hollywood companies actually strengthened their position in the German film market, in part due to the incorporation of German talent into Hollywood, brought about by the emigration of a large proportion of the German film industry personnel during the early years of the Nationalist Socialist regime. However, in 1939 Hollywood finally became the target of official attacks, following the American release of *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* [1939][236] by Warner Bros. Studios, along with a number of other anti-Nazi films. The work of émigrés in America was subsequently seen as a threat to the international reputation of the Third Reich. This was a matter beyond that of Jewish émigrés, as emigration itself was viewed as defection, and thus anti-Nazi. Film magazines produced smear campaigns against studios involved in anti-German films, journalists avoided mentioning films that contained German exiles, and reports of political demonstrations outside film studios showing Hollywood imports made it clear that the industry's reliance on America had come to an end. In 1940, all films produced by Universal, Warner Bros., and RKO [Radio-Keith-Orpheum] were banned. Paramount and MGM soon followed, and they closed their Berlin offices.[237] However, the influence of Hollywood filmmaking can still be felt more strongly in the Nazi films than in their Soviet counterparts, which was not as invested in the international market (although that is not to say that Hollywood did not influence filmmaking in the Soviet Union, as I will discuss in the next paragraph). In addition, the number of Hollywood films released in Germany was very high (114 films out of a total of 206 feature films released in 1933 were from America[238]) altering audience expectations, which are based on their viewing experiences.

Whilst American films were hugely popular in the Soviet Union, between 1927 and 1928, box office receipts show that Soviet films had outsold imports for the first time ever. However, Richard Taylor notes that 'this did not mean that Soviet films were intrinsically more popular. It meant that a shortage of foreign currency had led to a severe reduction in the number of films imported.'[239] Between 1928 and 1932 (during the Five Year Plan) cinemas spread rapidly into the countryside and the demand for films rose, leading to the production of numerous low-budget films which were imitative of Hollywood films.[240]

[236] *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*, d. Anatole Litvak, s. Milton Krims and John Wexley, m. Max Steiner, p.c. Warner Bros. (USA, 1939).
[237] Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich,* p. 136.
[238] Ibid. p. 130.
[239] Richard Taylor, 'Boris Shumyatsky and the Soviet Cinema in the 1930s: Ideology as Mass Entertainment,' in *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television,* 6:1, (1986), p. 47.
[240] ibid.

The lack of foreign currency meant that the industry had to push for self-sufficiency much earlier than in Germany. However, it would be incorrect to assume that filmmakers in the Soviet Union were less aware of what was happening in Hollywood than their German colleagues. Officials in the Soviet Union were impressed at the production rates in Hollywood, and the facilities available to filmmakers. Boris Shumiatskiy presented an initiative to create a *kinogorod* [cinema city] in the South-Western corner of the Crimea, which was referred to informally as '*sovyetskiy Gollivud'* ['Soviet Hollywood']. The Crimea provided the ideal climate to film outdoors all year round: the surrounding scenery was varied and there was the potential to construct film sets which could be used for numerous films[241] (much as in the Weimar Republic). By centralising production into one geographical area, production costs could be decreased drastically. This imitation of Hollywood occurred not only in terms of production methods but also stretched to the types of films created. For example, in an article entitled *Za sovershenstvo masterstva* [Perfecting Our Mastery] from 1936, Shumiatskiy stated that 'it is particularly instructive to compare our films to Charlie Chaplin's latest film *Modern Times*' and later in the paragraph he refers to Chaplin as 'our American friend.'[242]

With audiences in both countries familiar with Hollywood film convention and with the drive for entertainment films that would be popular with the masses, both regimes attempted to reframe popular film genres as national products. Filmmakers did not create direct equivalents to the Hollywood film genres that had been so popular amongst audiences in the 1920s, due to the association of Hollywood with decadence and moral degradation. As such, the genre terminology was not straightforward. For example, in place of the musical film, in the Soviet Union these films were framed as 'musical comedies' (sometimes even the 'musical' part would be dropped) and in Nazi Germany there were 'film operettas', 'musical comedies', 'musical revue', and many other sub-genres of films which place musical numbers at the centre.

The National Socialists inherited a cinema which already embraced many popular genre films, such as the comedy, spy thriller, melodrama, the musical, and operetta films. There was an exceptionally high demand among German audiences for 'musical comedy'

[241] ibid., p. 59.
[242] Boris Shumiatskiy, 'Za Sovershenstvo Masterstva,' *Iskusstvo kino*, 7, (July, 1936), pp. 6-8, cit. in Richard Taylor and Ian Christie (eds.), *The Film Factory. Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents 1896-1939*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1994) p. 376.

films, which are perhaps the closest sub-genre to the American musical film. Musical comedy films of the late Weimar period often portrayed a positive pragmatism that was necessary in the depression years and contemporary pressures faced as a result of inflation and unemployment were shown to be relieved through cheerful music. Amongst such films are Wilhelm Thiele's *Die Drei von der Tankstelle* [*The Three from the Filling Station*, 1930];[243] Reinhold Schünzel's *Die Privatsekretärin* [*The Private Secretary*, 1931];[244] *Ein blonder Traum* [*A Blond Dream*, 1932];[245] and *Ich bei Tag und du bei Nacht* [*I by Day and You by Night*, 1932].[246] However, the genre's engagement with contemporary subject matter also led to a number of more provocative films, such as Josef von Sternberg's famous *Der blaue Engel* [*The Blue Angel*, 1930].[247] Sterberg's film shows the seduction, and subsequent degradation, of a German school teacher by a variety performer, played by Marlene Dietrich. Whilst many such films were held up by the National Socialists as examples of the depravity of Weimar cinema, their representation of music as a tool to alleviate social pressures was adapted under National Socialism to fit with contemporary social concerns. For example, the wartime musical film *Wir machen Musik* [*We Are Making Music*, 1942][248] represents music as a tool to overcome the alienation of romantic separation during a time in which many of the viewers would be separated from loved ones, and as a means of elevating the economic pressures of wartime society as the central characters earn their living through the composition and performance of popular music during the war.

The Soviet Union was much slower to adopt any form of musical film, and when they did eventually do so, such films were called 'musical comedies', or sometimes even just 'film comedies', foregrounding the comedy aspect over the musical. This initial avoidance was due to perceptions of the genre as superficial and unsuitable for the

[243] *Die Drei von der Tankstelle* [*The Three from the Filling Station*], d. Wilhelm Thiele, s. Franz Schulz and Paul Frank, m. Werner Richard Heymann, p. Erich Pommer, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1930).
[244] *Die Privatsekretärin* [*The Private Secretary*], d. Wilhelm Thiele, s. Franz Schulz, m. Ludwig Lajtai, p.c. Greenbaum-Film GmbH (Germany, 1931).
[245] *Ein blonder Traum* [*A Blond Dream*], d. Paul Martin, s. Walter Reisch and Billy Wilder, m. Werner Richard Heymann, p. Erich Pommer, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1932).
[246] Ich bei Tag und du bei Nacht [I by Day and You by Night], d. Ludwig Berger, s. Hans Székely and Robert Liebmann, m. Werner Richard Heymann, p. Erich Pommer, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1932).
[247] *Der blaue Engel* [*The Blue Angel*], d. Josef von Sternberg, s. Robert Liebmann and Karl Vollmoeller, m. Friedrich Hollaender, p. Erich Pommer, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1930).
[248] *Wir machen Musik* [*We Are Making Music*], d. Helmut Käutner, s. Helmut Käutner, m. Peter Igelhoff, Adolf Steimel, p.c. Terra-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1942).

dissemination of serious political messages.[249] This was, in part, due to its strong ties with Hollywood and even the 'commercial' tradition of filmmaking in the Weimar Republic.[250] The earlier obsession with revolutionary realism disallowed for a genre which classically involves the audience to suspend disbelief to a greater level than many other films. However, it became clear that the revolutionary films of the 1920s were not attracting large audiences and that in order to be most effective, filmmakers must engage with audience preferences and expectations, which had been shaped by Hollywood and Weimar film convention.

The first Soviet musical film was produced as a response to Boris Shumiatskiy's call for the creation of Soviet comedies, as part of his Soviet Hollywood initiative. Thus, the musical aspect was, from the very start, subordinate to the comedy. In 1932 Shumiatskiy approached the director Grigoriy Aleksandrov with the idea to make a musical comedy film based on Leonid Utesov's 1932 stage show *Muzïkal'nïy Magazin* [*The Music Store*]. Utesov was to star in the film and it would be called *Vesyolïye Rebyata* [*The Jolly Fellows*, 1934][251]. In primary discourse, the film is regularly referred to as a comedy film, dropping the musical element.[252] Originally, Shumiatskiy had approached Sergei Eyzenshteyn, but the director refused the project on ideological grounds. Aleksandrov had worked with Eyzenshteyn for ten years, and his former teacher and colleague viewed Aleksandrov's involvement with the project as a defection from his camp.[253] The debate surrounding the release of Aleksandrov's *Vesyolïye Rebyata* highlights the ideological difficulties faced by film makers wishing to take advantage of the popularity of the musical comedy genre. In the Soviet Union, the musical comedy film genre was dominated by two directors during the 1930s and 1940s; Grigoriy Aleksandrov, and Ivan Pïr'yev. Whilst Aleksandrov focused on Soviet modernity, and the gravitational pull of the modern city, Pïr'yev tended to focus on rural settings and is often named the pioneer of the *kolkhoz* musical. In contrast to the Third Reich, where musical films had played a prominent role in the national cinema of the Weimar republic, filmmakers in the Soviet

[249] Richard Taylor, 'Singing on the Steppes for Stalin: Ivan Py'rev and the Kolkhoz Musical in Soviet Cinema,' *Slavic Review*, 58:1, (Spring, 1999) pp.143-159.
[250] ibid.
[251] *Vesyolïye Rebyata* [*Jolly Fellows/Happy Guys*], d. Grigoriy Aleksandrov, s. Vladimir Mass, Nikolay Erdman and Grigoriy Aleksandrov, m. Isaak Dunayevskiy, p.c. Moskinokombinat (USSR, 1934).
[252] See Taylor and Christie (eds.) *The Film Factory*.
[253] Jay Leyda, *Kino: A History of Russian and Soviet Film.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983.) p. 305.

Union struggled to create a new genre that was on the one hand based on a model from Hollywood and on the other, was national and political.

Another popular genre in the Third Reich was the melodrama film. In fact, Heins claims that filmmakers in the Third Reich produced at least ten times more melodramas than war films.[254] The melodramatic mode describes conflict in a polemical manner, making it well suited to propaganda. Not only this, but the management of spectator emotions was a central concern of the Nazis. As Heins states,

> Melodrama's engagement of basic emotions and its condensation of social and economic difference into personal conflict allow for an effective emotional appeal to the spectator. Film melodrama was thus a crucial instrument for adjusting the internal functions of Third Reich audiences.[255]

Melodrama, with its emotionally charged morals, was on the one hand well suited to the vision of entertainment films that would move the spectator emotionally but on the other hand, the possibility for misreading the film or having undesired emotional responses caused considerable anxiety for the Nazis. As mentioned earlier, Goebbels' diary entries reveal a fear of unpredictable spectatorship through a continual process of readjusting films to better avoid anarchic readings. Despite these fears, however, even the big budget propaganda films such as the infamous anti-Semitic *Jud Süss* [*Jud Süss,* 1940][256] draw heavily on melodramatic rhetoric.

In the Soviet Union, the melodrama genre played a smaller role than in the Third Reich. The need to represent happiness and an ideal vision of socialist reality, made melodrama problematic in the context of socialist realism. However, as Anna Toropova has demonstrated, the state placed the happiness of its citizens as a top priority, whilst simultaneously demanding bodily sacrifice in the name of war and industrialization.[257] The melodramatic imagination, therefore, plays a crucial role in scenes of death and dying in the Soviet Union, where death is framed as a repayment to the state or to provide legitimacy to the state. However, I would argue that the key films Toropova discusses are not melodrama films in terms of genre constructions but are war films that employ the

[254] Heins, *The Nazi Film Melodrama*, p.1.
[255] ibid., p. 3.
[256] *Jud Süss* [*Jud Süss*] d. Veit Harlan, s. Veit Harlan, Eberhard Wolfgang Möller, Ludwig Metzger, m. Wolfgang Zeller, Terra-Filmkunst GmbH (Berlin, 1940).
[257] Anna Toropova, 'An Inexpiable Debt: Stalinist Cinema, Biopolitics, and the Discourse of Happiness,' *The Russian Review,* 74:4, (2015), p. 667. Chapter Four will look at how this relates to music in death scenes.

melodramatic imagination in order to heighten the emotional effect of the film and strengthen its moral framework.[258] More akin to a contemporary understanding of melodrama as a genre were the filmed versions of nineteenth-century dramas by Chekhov, Gogol, Pushkin, Dostoyevsky, Lermontov and Ostrovskiy, as well as Balzac and Hugo.[259] As these films were set in the pre-revolutionary past, the films were able to sympathise with the victim and frame the pre-revolutionary society as corrupt. Even in the case of literary adaptations, however, contemporary relevance was stressed, often altering the original text significantly in the process. Similarly, the historical spectacle films (as in the Third Reich) can be understood as historical melodramas, again using the pre-revolutionary setting as a way around the need to represent contemporary society in an idealised light.

Another dominant genre in the Third Reich was the comedy film. Comedy films focusing on the lives of white-collar workers were common in Germany, whilst in the Soviet Union filmmakers struggled to reconcile comedy with the demands of socialist realism, despite frequent calls from above for cheerful comedy films.[260] Scholars on the cinema of the Soviet Union have traditionally taken a more content-driven approach to genre categorization, dividing the films into historical spectacles, revolutionary stories and contemporary dramas.[261] The smallest of these were the historical spectacles, which are the best known amongst audiences in the West. It is this genre that is closest to the Nazi melodrama genre and the films also contain more long-range musical strategies and thicker orchestral scores, such as Prokof'yev's score to *Aleksandr Nevskiy*. As with any attempt at defining genre distinctions, however, there are many exceptions that defy easy categorisation.

The genre conventions employed in the Third Reich were more akin to those of Hollywood than the Soviet Union, where socialist realism itself functioned as a genre of sorts, with its own conventions and plot constructions. In addition, the use of genre as a marketing device in order to establish spectator expectations was more common in the Third Reich than in the Soviet Union, where the content and setting were often used to

[258] See Chapter Four for an in-depth examination of death scenes in the cinema of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union.
[259] Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society*, p. 146; for adaptations of Dostoyevsky, see N. M. Lary, *Dostoyevsky and Soviet Film: Visions of Demonic Realism*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986).
[260] This will be the subject of Chapter Three.
[261] Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society*, p. 147.

distinguish between types of film. Genre played a greater role more generally and music functioned slightly differently within these genres (although the distinctions are less clear than in Hollywood). In the melodrama film, for instance, the use of long-range musical techniques, such as the use of leitmotifs and non-diegetic orchestral scores are more common, although as previously mentioned, the fear of excess of representation as well as financial constraints meant that even here, the soundtrack was much sparser than its Hollywood equivalent. Of course, the fact that Veit Harlan, who was afforded some of the biggest budgets, worked almost exclusively within this genre is also a factor in this genre distinction. Leni Riefenstahl's films also contain much denser scores, but their status as big budget propaganda films set them apart from the popular cinema of the Third Reich. On the other hand, the preference for on-screen musical performances and the musical 'moment' was not attached to a specific genre (as will be demonstrated throughout this thesis) but rather stretched across the broader cinematic output of both the Soviet Union and the Third Reich.

Generic Plot Constructions

On the structuralist level of plot construction, too, both similarities and departures coexist. In both the Third Reich and the Soviet Union it was considered that if cinema was to be intelligible to everyone, overcomplicated plot constructions ought to be avoided and directors should instead be opting for simple formulaic plots. In her study of the Soviet novel, Katerina Clark has suggested that the best way to comprehend the socialist realist novel is to reveal the master plot on which they are based.[262] For Clark, all such works are based on the acquisition of socialist consciousness, obtained through the process of fulfilling a task or venture. Clark's idea of a master plot may seem reductive, but Socialist Realist films do follow such a formula.

An alternative way to view this 'plot' is as an alteration of classical Hollywood narrative structure, which is based on a three-act format (set-up, development, and resolution) and typically centres on one character in a series of events based on causality. The dramatic momentum is created by the development and resolution of a central conflict. This main conflict is introduced in the set-up and resolved at the climax.[263] If we are to take Clark's master plot and map it onto this structure, the central conflict is an

[262] Clark, *The Soviet Novel*, p. 5.
[263] David Bordwell, Janet Staiger and Kristen Thompson (eds.), *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), pp. 1-41.

internal one – that of spontaneity versus consciousness. It is not so easy to map a specifically Nazi master plot, but most films do adhere to classical Hollywood narrative structure.

In his study of the American musical, Rick Altman posits an alternative deep structure with a dual focus. The focal points, according to Altman, are male and female. They exist in alternation, confrontation, and parallel, and opposing values are overcome through music. The plot quite simply follows the formation of the male and female couple, which parallels success in a venture or task; however, the emphasis is not on the chronological progression (which is utterly predictable), but on the alteration between the two focal points.[264] A number of Nazi musicals can be seen to reflect Altman's structure, such as *Wir machen Musik*, and *Viktor und Viktoria* [*Victor and Victoria*].[265] In *Wir machen Musik*, the plot follows two characters - the female lead Anni Pichler sings popular songs, whilst the male lead Karl Zimmermann attempts to writes classical, serious music. Anni's singing is presented as natural and spontaneous, leading to her success, whereas Karl struggles onwards to little avail. Throughout the film, there is tension between high-brow and low-brow music; male and female art. As such, the dual focus allows for the mapping of other binaries onto gender distinctions.

When applying this dual focus narrative to Soviet musical films, the dual focus is not so apparently fixed on the alternation between male and female. For instance, in the case of the first Soviet musical film, Igor Savchenko's *Garmon'* [*The Accordion*, 1934][266] the dual focus is between the accordion player and the community. The task or venture is both an artistic performance and the work of the nation or community, which coincide – a common feature of most Soviet musical films. The plot follows an accordion player who abandons his music to concentrate on his work, only to pick it up again in order to unite a rift in the workforce through music. The balance between art and practical work is resolved, as the two become synonymous. It is clear that other dual-focus structures exist beyond that of male/female contrasts, and music can be shown to serve an integrative role to overcome all sorts of differences. Thus, the dual-focus narrative

[264] Rick Altman, *The American Film Musical*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987).
[265] *Viktor und Viktoria* [*Victor and Victoria*], d. Reinhold Schünzel, s. Reinhold Schünzel, m. Franz Doelle, l. 'Rosen und Liebe', 'An einem Tag im Frühling' Bruno Balz 'Komm doch ein bißchen mit nach Madrid' 'Man sagt zu einer Dame nicht beim ersten Mal ''Komm mit', p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1933).
[266] *Garmon'* [*The Accordion*], d. Igor Savchenko, s. A. Zharov, Igor Savchenko, m. Sergey Pototskiy, p.c. Mezhrabpomfil'm (USSR, 1934).

provides the opportunity to shift the spectators' perception from that of a linear progression, to one of comparison and simultaneity. This deep structure provided the potential to represent political ideology in an accessible manner. In Soviet films, the romantic storyline, whilst often present, is subjugated to 'higher' ideological forces and conflict and tension is often internal.

Conclusion

To study the cinema of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union is to come face-to-face with a complex web of interactions between the concepts of entertainment and enlightenment, between myth and reality, and between the national and international. As I have argued, the picture is far from straightforward and the two film cultures contain numerous internal contradictions on the level of aesthetics, official statements on the role of art, and even on the level of industry structure, which until fairly recently has been assumed to be a top-down propaganda system. Whilst art was to be edifying, the film industries were also driven by commercial considerations, despite the negative connotations both systems associated with commercialism (its link with the 'Jew' in Nazi discourse and with capitalism in the Soviet Union).

Official discourse on the role of art in society from the Third Reich and the Soviet Union has much in common. Both states advocated a variation of realism that was based on teleological concepts. The representation of reality was understood as a tool for heightening spectator identification with the film, which was (in turn) necessary if art was to be transformative – the central goal for both states. As part of this goal, film was discussed in terms of its capacity to move the spectator emotionally and the management of spectator desire and emotional responses was a central concern of both states. However, on further inspection it becomes clear that differences exist on the topic of realism. The German concept of *Wirklichkeitsnähe* was not the same as realism as we understand it today. For one thing, it was less an aesthetic form and more a question of setting and ideological content. Publication material promoted the contemporary relevance of films, inviting the spectator to draw comparisons between the diegesis and situational context and their own. In the Soviet Union, the call for entertainment films that would reflect the happiness of Soviet citizens resulted in films that are realist only in their contemporary settings and relevance (as in Nazi Germany). However, a realist aesthetic tradition did continue to influence filmmaking in the 1930s, particularly in the

revolutionary hero films, where the earnest nature of the subject called for a higher degree of realism.

Goebbels' separation of entertainment from propaganda (although superficial in that entertainment films were still to be morally sound and not threaten Nazi power) sustained the industry in allowing a degree of continuity with Weimar film production. They were able to capitalise on an already existent cinema culture with established conventions and methods of production and consumption. Despite the financial difficulties facing the industry in the early 1930s, the Weimar Republic had accumulated significant cultural prestige on the global filmmaking market and it was within the interests of the Party to capitalize on the export and import structures that were already in place. This, of course, would change in the late 1930s when Hollywood started releasing anti-Nazi films, forcing the state to shut down the valuable economic trade links with America.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, was struggling to establish self-sufficiency in the early 1930s. Without the currency needed to purchase imported film reels (both in terms of production stock and completed films) the industry was having to rely on its own production system, which was lacking in the know-how to produce film production materials as well as the financial capital required to build the industry up. With 40 per cent of the capital generated by the film industry going back to the state in taxes, as well as restricting factors such as a lack of distribution equipment limiting potential ticket sales, the industry struggled to achieve economic self-sufficiency.

These differing historical contexts are reflected on the level of aesthetics, where Nazi cinema has much more in common with Hollywood filmmaking than its Soviet counterpart. The influence of Hollywood genre constructions can more clearly be witnessed in the films of the Third Reich than in the Soviet Union, where filmmakers struggled to integrate socialist realism with other popular genres, such as comedy. On the other hand, both states attempted to adapt popular Hollywood genres into national forms and in doing so, a fear of excess in both states led to a higher degree of realism.[267]

The use of music, too, contains both similarities and differences depending on the level at which you approach the films. A high-level analysis reveals that films in both

[267] The extent to which the cinema of the Third Reich had more in common with a European filmmaking tradition is an interesting question, but not the focus of this study.

states tended towards sparse soundtracks with isolated moments of diegetic musical performance or song. In both states, composers and theorists criticised the use of illustration music and claimed that it did not utilise the full emotional potential of film music. However, once again on the level of discourse, differences emerge on the political nature of film composition. Whilst in the Third Reich, composers were most concerned with the 'low' quality of film scores, criticising the *Schlager* for what they perceived as it's 'low' status and commercialism, the discourse in the Soviet Union was marked by the question of how music could best serve socialist realism. As film songs were picked up and played on radios, the ideological messages of the songs were able to outlive the film viewing experience.

Overall whilst there is no such thing as a widespread totalitarian aesthetic, there are sufficient discernible trends in the use of music in film to warrant further consideration. Whatever the reasons are behind these musical strategies, isolated moments of diegetic music are well suited to the community construction processes that were central to filmmaking in both states.

Chapter Two
Shared Musical Experiences: Music, Mediation, and Affective Communities

Popular cinema is always concerned with fostering affective communities as it relies on the emotional and affective responses of mass audiences for its success. However, this affective economy (in which the filmmakers benefit from the affective response of spectators) is often masked from the spectator through an appeal to community. For example, Jane Feuer's work has demonstrated the ways in which stars in Hollywood musical films are made to appear as ordinary members of the community, hiding the time and effort that the stars have invested in order to perform, as well as the economic gulf that separates the spectator from the star.[268] In other words, in order for the spectator to identify with the star, they are presented as 'one of us.' Community in the films, therefore, is used as a tool to foster spectator identification, and manage the potential alienation that the spectator may experience when they feel exploited. The nature of these fictional communities contains the inflections of context and the cinema of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union links the personal with the collective in ways that render such affective communities both national and political.

This chapter will examine scenes of musical performance and on-screen listening as distinct cinematic moments that appeal to the spectator through the promotion of affect as well as through self-reflexive elements and the blurring of narrative boundaries. In examining the scenes in terms of both their cinematic form (the medium) and the content, I will demonstrate that the two aspects converge during moments of musical performances in ways that help to foster the impression of national-political communities in the films.

One of the features of film music in the Third Reich and the Soviet Union is the frequent use of on-screen musical performances. It is not only musical films, or films about music that feature at least one such scene – musical performances are a common feature across all genres and every case study film examined in this thesis contains at least one moment of on-screen music-making. Referring to film music in the Third Reich, Robert Peck has stated that:

[268] Jane Feuer, *The Hollywood Musical*, (London: BFI/Macmillan, 1982).

> virtually every feature film contained not only background music or illustration music, but also diegetic music integrated into the narrative by way of dances, songs, choral pieces, or concerts. This extended beyond light entertainment and musical films to include melodramas, war, history, and adventure films. It would be extremely difficult to name a single film where this was not the case, which may well be unique within the filmic conventions of European cinema.[269]

However, this is not unique to the Third Reich and the same claims have been made about Soviet films. Andrei Petrov and Natalia Kolesnikova discuss the role of song (often diegetic) in Soviet film at length in *Dialog o kinomuzyke*[270] and Masha Salazkina has noted:

> Unlike Hollywood – which was largely dominated by original scores and where the inclusion of songs in a film tended to be limited to the musical genre, especially in the postwar period (although of course there are notable exceptions to this) – in Soviet sound cinema the inclusion of songs written specifically for the film – and often in conversation with the director – was a widespread practice throughout its history, regardless of whether or not the film was considered a "musical."[271]

The use of song in both historical contexts transcended genre distinctions (which were not equivalent to Hollywood genre constructions in any case) and there was no direct equivalent to the Hollywood idea of the 'musical' film, with songs considered a central mode of film scoring practice for all films. The comparison made is often understandably with Hollywood, but whether this filmic practice is common in European cinema is an interesting question albeit one which is unfortunately beyond the limits of this project.

Chapter One outlined several reasons for this frequent use of diegetic musical performances in the two film cultures. Firstly, the use of diegetic music can be understood as symptomatic of the fear of excess that official statements reveal in both contexts. Diegetic music, being rooted within the sound world of the film, justifies its own presence through narrative framing. On the other hand, the push against the excess of representation noted in Hollywood productions also contains traces of an inferiority complex (particularly in the case of Nazi Germany, where a pseudo separation of

[269] Robert E. Peck, 'Film Music in the Third Reich,' in Stilwell and Powrie (eds.), *Composing for the Screen in Germany and the* USSR, p. 20.
[270] Andrei Petrov and Natalia Kolesnikova, *Dialog o kinomuzïke,* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1982).
[271] Kaganovsky and Salazkina, *Sound, Speech, Music in Soviet and Post-Soviet Cinema* p. 11.

entertainment from propaganda was upheld through official statements on art). As such, the use of diegetic musical performances could have more to do with economic constraints (self-contained musical moments played with small ensembles were cheaper than large-scale orchestral scores) than any ideological or artistic decision on the part of filmmakers or composers. In addition, the musical performances also functioned as attractions in themselves, drawing audiences to the cinema, and the publication material and discourse in the film press surrounding the films also highlighted the central songs in such terms. Cinema is a form of entertainment and the popularity of on-screen performances during the 1930s and 1940s was a widespread global trend.[272] From the very birth of sound film, filmmakers picked up on the entertainment value of on-screen musical performances with synchronised sound. Finally, songs composed specifically for the film could take on a life outside of the film, which brings with it both commercial benefits (revenue through sheet music and record sales), and benefits in terms of ideological dissemination as the song lyrics become lodged in the memory of listeners outside of the cinema.

This chapter moves beyond possible explanations for the preference for diegetic music and instead considers the function of such scenes within the film as well as the potential significance that the music adds to the scenes for each historical audience. Of course, the latter point is a slippery task. With little evidence of individual spectator response to the films (and no way of knowing how reliable such evidence is), this chapter examines the film texts as documents that contains the traces of production and reception within them. I do not try to make claims about how individuals interpreted and responded to these films but offer historically informed readings of the affective (as well as ideological) appeals that are contained within the film texts. In doing so, this chapter will demonstrate that scenes of musical performances become a site for the articulation of community and social cohesion within the films of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, and that these communities are not just national, but political.

The Utopian Function of the 'Musical Moment'

Much has been written in secondary literature about musical performances in films. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Hollywood musical film (with its privileging of musical

[272] Ben Winters, *Music, Performance, and the Realities of Film: Shared Concert Experiences in Screen Fiction*, (Routledge, 2014), p. 18.

performances) attracted the attention of numerous full-length studies.[273] Since then the concept of the 'musical moment' has been expanded to include not just song and dance numbers in musical films, but the use of on-screen performances across all genres, from on-screen concerts to scenes of characters lip-synching or singing-along to diegetic recorded music, and there has been a resurgence of scholarly interest of late in the moments in which music takes over the soundtrack.[274]

Scenes of on-screen musical performances foreground music and its expressive power, and music has traditionally been used to add to the affective impact of a given scene, through its focus on feeling. Royal S. Brown writes that music helps 'transform the object-event into an affect-object-event'[275] and for Richard Dyer, it is the affective power of musical numbers that gives such entertainment its utopian function. He writes that this function 'is contained in the feeling it embodies. It presents, head-on as it were, what utopia would feel like rather than how it would be organized. It thus works at the level of sensibility, by which I mean an affective code that is characteristic of, and largely specific to, a given mode of cultural production.'[276]

As mentioned in the introduction, both the Nazi concept of the *Volksgemeinschaft* and the idea of the Soviet collective contained affective appeals to the individual. Both regimes exploited the emotional value of consumption and promoted happiness as the prerogative of the community.[277] Entertainment was linked in each instance with these affective projects and the official statements on art highlighted the requirement to represent an idealised image of society along political and ideological lines. As such, the

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[273] For example, see Altman, *The American Film Musical* and Feuer, *The Hollywood Musical.* These canonical texts examine the use of on-screen musical performances within the Hollywood musical genre.
[274] Ian Conrich and Estella Rincknell (eds.), *Film's Musical Moments*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006); Ian Conrich, 'Merry Melodies: the Marx Brothers' musical moments,' in Bill Marshall and Robynn Stilwell (eds.), *Musicals: Hollywood and Beyond,* (Exeter: Intellect Books, 2000), pp. 47-54. The term is having a resurgence of interest lately, as reflected by the conference 'When the Music Takes Over. Musical Numbers in Film and Television' in Salzburg on 8-10 March 2018, which contained over 100 papers on the musical moment and covered aspects such as affect, structure, performance, cinematic style, configurations of time and space, fan culture, types of audience address, reception and more.
[275] Royal S. Brown, *Overtones and Undertones: Reading Film Music*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), p. 31.
[276] Richard Dyer, 'Entertainment and Utopia,' in Steven Cohan (ed.), *Hollywood Musicals: The Film Reader,* (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 20.
[277] For more on consumption in the Third Reich, see Birthe Kundrus, 'Greasing the Palm of the *Volksgemeinschaft?* Consumption under National Socialism,' in *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany*, pp. 157-170. For consumption in the Soviet Union, see Catriona Kelly and Vadim Volkov, 'Directed Desires: Kul'turnost' and Consumption,' in Catriona Kelly and David Shephard, *Constructing Russian Culture in the Age of Revolution, 1881-1940*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 291-313; Jukka Gronow, *Caviar with Champagne: Common Luxury and the Ideals of the Good Life in Stalin's Russia*, (Oxford: Berg, 2003).

utopian function of entertainment outlined by Dyer worked on the level of ideology in the cinema of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, where its affective appeal was linked with the project of strengthening identification with these political, national communities.

Case A: *Wunschkonzert* and listening with the nation

Eduard von Borsody's *Wunschkonzert* [*Request Concert,* 1940][278] is one example of the use of on-screen listening as an articulation of social and national unity in the Third Reich. It was the number one box office hit of its time, and the film has been awarded considerable attention in secondary literature, largely due to its unprecedented success.[279] The discussion has centred on the film's role as entertainment during the war and on its representation of the entertainment industry, through its inclusion of the famous entertainment radio show *Wunschkonzert*. Acts of on-screen listening and performance serve a collective function in the film, opening up identification patterns to foster the sense of an affective community that bonds the spectators together and creates the impression of a direct rapport between the filmmaker(s) and the audience. Not only this, but listening is imbued with meaning in the film and the radio is presented as the privileged form of affective engagement.

The film is structured around two cultural events during which music plays a central role. The first of these is the 1932 Olympic games and the second is the popular wartime radio show, *Wunschkonzert für die Wehrmacht* [Request Concert for the Wehrmacht]. The events both function as sites for the performance of community in the film and on the level of plot construction, they provide the spaces in which the romantic coupling occurs. Inge Wagner and Herbert Koch meet at the Olympic games and soon decide to marry. However, Herbert is an air force officer and is called away on a secret mission to Spain. He is forbidden from writing and so Inge is unable to receive news from him. Meanwhile Inge leaves the city for the countryside but cannot update Herbert as to her whereabouts and the couple lose all hope of contacting one another. However, it is

[278] *Wunschkonzert* [*Request Concert*], d. Eduard von Borsody, s. Felix Lützkendorf, Eduard von Borsody, m. Werner Bochmann, p.c. Cine-Allianz Tonfilmproduktion GmbH (Germany, 1940).
[279] See Heldt, 'Front Theatre'; Kreimeier, *Die UFA-Story,* pp. 370-73; Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich,* pp. 288-301; Reinhard Andress, 'Verschoben, aber nicht aufgehoben: Zur Topographie der Liebe im Kontext von Volkgemeinschaft und Krieg in erfolgreichen NS-Filmen,' *Monatshefte* 91 (1991), pp. 359-75; O'Brien, *Nazi Cinema as Enchantment: The Politics of Entertainment in the Third Reich*, pp. 119-43; Hans-Jörg Koch, *Wunschkonzert: Unterhaltungsmusik und Propaganda im Rundfunk des Dritten Reichs* (Graz: Ares, 2006); Susan Tegel, *Nazis and the Cinema* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007) pp. 176-80; Pietsch, *Tönende Verführung*, pp. 123-331.

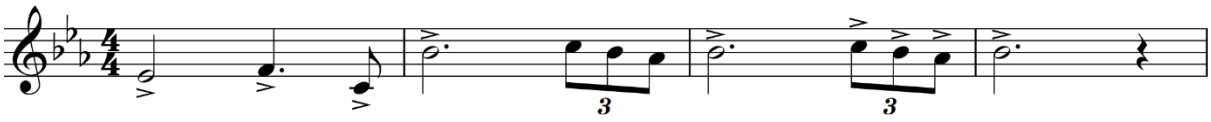
music and the radio that come to the rescue for the couple. Herbert's fellow pilots, obsessed with the eponymous radio show, ask if he would like to request a song and he tells them that he would like to hear Herbert Windt's *Olympic Fanfare.* It is only through hearing his request on the radio show that Inge realises that he still loves her, as their love is linked to the Olympic games and Windt's score. This is the push she needs to set off to reconnect with him.

The *Olympic Fanfare* serves as the couple's "song" – the music that they endow with personal, romantic meaning. Todd Decker has demonstrated that in the historical epic films *Casablanca* [1942],[280] *Doctor Zhivago* [1965][281] and *The English Patient* [1996][282] songs function as private musical territories for the lovers. He writes that 'the lesson of epic romances is that ownership of a song is just about all adulterous couples in a time of war can hope for.'[283] These 'musical territories' are often referred to as "our song". However, within the context of *Wunschkonzert*, Inge and Herbert cannot claim exclusive ownership of their "song." In fact, when Herbert announces his choice of music to the group of pilots and engineers, they respond enthusiastically, acknowledging their own love of the music whilst highlighting a universal appreciation and connection to it. They deny the couple the right to ownership of the music. As such, their relationship becomes both private and public. The music simultaneously holds both personal connotations for the individual and wider associations and emotional responses that are shared by many. Through their connection to this music, the fictional couple take on significance as a stand-in for the experiences of many during the war.

Not only this, but the *Olympic Fanfare* is musically very different from the love themes in *Casablanca*, *Doctor Zhivago* and the *English Patient.* It opens with an angular trumpet fanfare announcing the grandeur of the Olympic spectacle [Example 2.1.] and Herbert Windt's musical idiom is monumental, drawing on Richard Wagner and Richard Strauss.[284] In evoking the stylistic lineage of the German canon, Windt positions himself amongst the *Volksgemeinschaft*. The Nazi concept of community emphasised the

[280] *Casablanca*, d. Michael Curtiz, s. Julius J. Epstein, Philip G. Epstein, Howard Koch (on *Everybody Comes to Rick's* by Murray Burnett Joan Alison), m. Max Steiner, p.c. Warner Bros. (USA, 1942).
[281] *Doctor Zhivago*, d. David Lean, s. Robert Bolt (on the novel by Boris Pasternak), m. Maurice Jarre, p.c. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Carlo Ponti Production and Sostar S.A. (UK/Italy, 1965).
[282] *The English Patient*, d. Anthony Minghella, s. Anthony Minghella (on the novel by Michael Ondaatje), m. Gabriel Yared, p.c. Tiger Moth Productions (USA, 1996).
[283] Todd Decker, '"We're the Real Countries": Songs as Private Musical Territories in the Epic Romances *Casablanca, Doctor Zhivago,* and *The English Patient*,' in Meyer (ed.), *Music in Epic Film,* p. 183.
[284] Morgan, 'Music in Nazi Film', p. 38.

inclusion of both living Germans and their ancestors. As such, whilst the Altmanian idea of the heterosexual couple as the telos of the musical film is present, the use of the *Olympic Fanfare* as the couple's "song" links them to the national community as well as to the Olympic celebrations and the national spectacle. The characters embody both the personal as well as the public in their symbolic function.



Example 2.1. *Olympic Fanfare* opening.

The Olympic games and the radio show act as bookends to the story of Inge and Herbert and whilst the events are significant for the couple the characters are amongst millions of spectators and listeners present. The events would go ahead regardless of whether Inge and Herbert attended (in fact Inge was faced with the possibility of missing the event when her mother forgot the tickets) but their relationship would not have started. The Olympic games are presented before the characters are introduced and the images alternate between a focus on the *Wunschkonzert* narrative and shots of the 1936 Olympic games taken from Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympia – Fest der Völker* [*Olympia - Festival of Nations*, 1938].[285] The past event is semiotically linked with the German nation not only through the music but also by the selection of images, which position Germany at the centre of the event. The images chosen include shots of the bells with the Eagle insignia; shots of the Olympic flags; flags of the participating nations; aerial shot of the stadium; the German team saluting Hitler and the commentators' podium, on which Hitler stands [Figure 2.1.].

The images have been rearranged (they are not in the same order as in *Olympia*) and Windt's *Olympia Fanfare* is paired with different images in Riefenstahl's film (it appears during the closing ceremony). Despite these differences, the spectator is likely to have recognised the footage and the music as Riefenstahl's film was heavily publicised and viewed in the Third Reich. The depiction of the event is refracted through its layers of representation in film.

[285] *Olympia – Fest der Völker* [*Olympia - Festival of the Nations*] d. Leni Riefenstahl, s. Leni Riefenstahl and Willy Zielke, m. Herbert Windt, p.c. Olympia-Film GmbH (Germany, 1938).

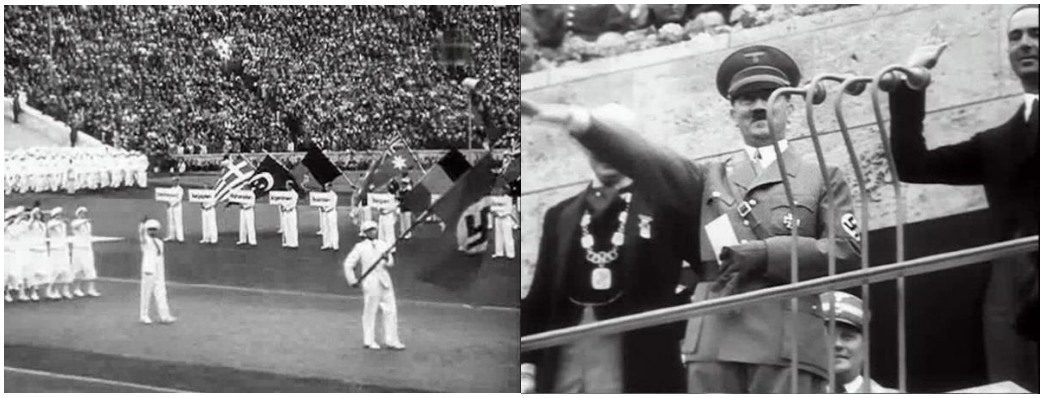


Figure 2.1. History refracted. The German Team salute Hitler.

Pseudo-Objectivity, Nostalgia, and the 'Virtual Image'

Olympia presents the images of the Olympic games on-screen as a mediated form of objective truth, participating in an ideology of authenticity that is further appropriated in *Wunschkonzert*'s use of the quotation. Heldt has argued that 'we do not see the Olympics, but a (slightly varied) reminder of how Nazi cinema represented them. Reality and fiction meet in a space where history has already been transformed into film images.'[286] Whilst this is certainly true – the layers of reception further encase the historical events in cinematic images – the pseudo-objectivity of the original film is carried over and the images compose an official history precisely through this continuity with the images that have preceded it.

This is not the only use of documentary footage (or footage made to look like newsreels) as a 'reality prop' in Nazi fiction films. Such scenes give the impression of an ontological truth through adopting the aesthetics associated with newsreels and their intertextual referents with objectivity. If recognised as a representation of extra-fictional truth within the diegesis of the film, the boundaries between extra and intra-fictional reality is blurred through multiple congruent interpretive layers. In another wartime box office hit, *Die große Liebe* [*The Great Love*, 1942],[287] there is a scene in which the central protagonist Hannah watches a newsreel about fighter pilots. The film cuts from a shot of Hannah with her lover (himself a fighter-pilot) to the images of planes in battle and the audience is tricked into thinking that the images on the screen are part of the diegesis. The camera then pulls back to reveal that what we were seeing is a film within a film. The

[286] Heldt, 'Front Theatre,' p. 72.
[287] *Die große Liebe* [*The Great Love*], d. Rolf Hansen, s. Peter Groll, Rolf Hansen, m. Michael Jary, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1942).

meta-diegetic world is the same as the extra-fictional world of the spectator and the insert becomes an extra-textural 'reality prop'[288] in itself. In addition, bearing in mind that film screenings would start with newsreel footage before the feature film, the sequence gestures towards the infinite repetition of *mise en abîme* as the diegetic audience watch a newsreel shown before a feature film screening that is itself contained within a feature film that was preceded by a newsreel. The sequence ensures the audience's primary identification with the film as they are invited to participate in the viewing of a pseudo real-life event in the cinema, alongside the diegetic audience.

This is not to suggest that the spectator understands such scenes as reality – they are still aware that they are watching a fictional film – but that the references to extra-fictional reality lends the scene an air of significance that appears to transcend the diegesis and address the community of spectators watching through the film. In *The Imaginary Signifier*, Christian Metz outlines a dualism between the spectators understanding of film as fictional representation and their affective response.[289] In other words, whilst they understand that the film is constructed, they are still moved by it. Just as spectators can find themselves moved by something they understand to be made up, they may also understand a scene as both part of a fictional diegesis and part of their own reality.

In situating the narrative within the recent past, the opening shots of *Wunschkonzert* involve multiple concepts of cinematic time. Deleuze writes that the time-image[290] is split into the *actual image* (the present that passes) and the *virtual image* (the past that is preserved).[291] The images of the Olympic games are understood by the spectator to be a representation of the past, in other words they engage with them as *virtual images*, and whilst it is not possible for the spectator to re-live or re-call the past in its entirety, traces of their own individual responses combine with the collective images. As Walter Benjamin writes 'Where there is experience in the strict sense of the word, certain contents of the individual past combine with the material of the collective

[288] The term 'reality prop' is borrowed from Guido Heldt, *Music and Levels of Narration in Film: Steps Across the Border* (Bristol: Intellect, 2014), p. 39.
[289] Christian Metz, *Psychoanalysis and Cinema: The Imaginary Signifier* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 820-36.
[290] Deleuze's use of the word image does not just refer to visual perception, but to all sensory perception in each moment.
[291] Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema II: The Time-Image,* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013).

past.'[292] In doing so, the film engages with concepts of nostalgia that are linked with the national community. The use of past music, too, with its intertextual links to Riefenstahl's film, contributes to this conception of time, rooting the diegesis in a past sonic national-political space.

The narrative, on the other hand, is understood to be diegetically present (it is not narrated through flashback). The story is integrated smoothly into the space of Riefenstahl's film. A wide angle shot of people arriving outside the stadium for the event focuses in on Inge and her mother hovering outside, moving the spectators' attention in towards the narrative. In a typical 'meet cute', Inge's mother has forgotten their tickets for the event and Herbert turns up at the stadium with a spare one. As Hitler's car arrives at the scene the pair hurry inside. We are then shown shots of the crowds saluting the Nazi flag from Riefenstahl's film, before a new shot of crowds with Inge and Herbert integrated into the space, as they find their seats. The weighting of the images firmly places Nazi Germany at the centre of the Olympic games – a bias of memory that spectators might also share – and it is a speech by Hitler that the two characters are shown to watch with rapture, not the sport. Much has been written about the affective power of oration in the Third Reich and on Hitler's 'charismatic' form of leadership.[293] Certainly the state advertised itself as such in this film, with shots of crowds of spectators visibly moved by Hitler's words. The historical event in which the characters are integrated is represented as being of national and political significance through the use of spectacle. As on-screen listeners (and viewers) with whom we are invited to identify, Inge and Herbert allow the spectator to imagine their own presence at the event, even if mediated through layers of reception that render the experience nostalgic.

Scenes of concert performances can also exhibit forms of pseudo-objectivity that give the impression that the diegesis is a mirror for our own reality. Ben Winters argues that scenes of musical performance threaten the spectator's engagement with the film as

[292] Walter Benjamin, 'On Some Motifs in Baudelaire,' in Hannah Arendt (ed.), Harry Zohn (trans.), *Walter Benjamin. Illuminations*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1969; Reprinted 2007) p. 159.
[293] Martin Kitchen, *The Third Reich: Charisma and Community*, (New York: Routledge, 2014); Claudia Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2003); Ian Kershaw, *The Hitler Myth: Image and Reality in the Third Reich*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Martin Broszat, *The Hitler State*; Joseph Nyomarkay, *Charisma and Factionalism in the Nazi Party*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1967). For the classic text on the theory of charismatic leadership see Max Weber, *Essais sur la Théorie de la Science*, (Paris: Libraire Plon, 1965). For a critique of the 'charisma' approach see Michel Dobry, 'Hitler, Charisma and Structure: Reflections on Historical Methodology,' *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 7:2, (2006), pp. 157-171.

fiction because they encourage the viewer to perceive of the film as an objective document of the performance through the adoption of 'televisual' aesthetics.[294] However, the narrative framing does makes these scenes of concert performances distinct from a filmed live event, even if many of the filming techniques are similar, such as the alternation of wide-angle shots of the stage with close-up shots of the orchestral instruments. In addition, Winter's separation of reality from fiction is perhaps too clear-cut. Multiple interpretive layers can coexist, allowing spectators to simultaneously understand concert scenes as real and part of a fictional world.

In *Wunschkonzert*, which came before television sets were widely available and an associated 'televisual' aesthetics was established, the shots of the radio signified 'liveness' and the radio concert is represented as a live event that was broadcast from the concert hall to interior spaces via the new technology. As it was based on a real show and the performers and radio announcer were all real stars appearing as themselves and performing pre-existing music, the sequence blurs the boundary between reality and fiction, encouraging the spectator to recognise their own reality within the diegesis of the film. In addition, the concert hall parts of the sequence use filming techniques that were associated with documentary filmmaking. For example, close-up shots of musicians in the orchestra are alternated with wide-angle shots of the stage [Figure 2.2.].

[294] Winters, *Music, Performance and the Realities of Film* p. 39.

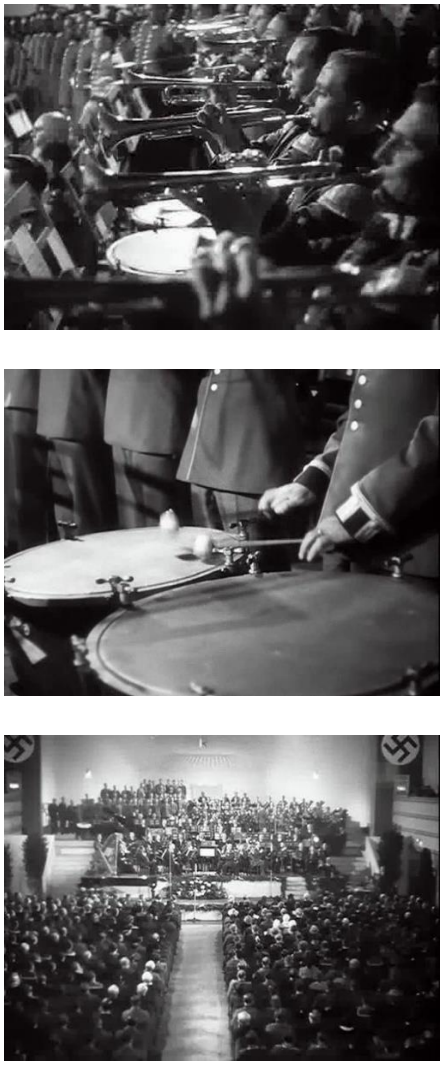


Figure 2.2. Pseudo-objectivity in the concert sequence.

In presenting itself as a mirror for extra-fictional reality, the sequence takes on an air of significance and becomes part the auto-celebration of the *Wunschkonzert* radio show and the wider entertainment industry in Nazi Germany, through the presence of film stars and popular music stars.

The presence of famous musicians also brings attention to the constructed nature of the film, as the spectator recognises the person from their own reality. Again Winters argues that when famous real-life musicians act in films, when actors play musicians unconvincingly and when fictional music fails to convince us of the status afforded to it in the film, these moments can all test our ability to construct a plausible fictional diegesis in our mind and become potential rupture points in the fiction-

construction processes.[295] However, whilst recognising a professional musician in a film is potentially disruptive to the construction of a fictional world, the presence of a bona fide musician can serve to show that the fictional and extra-fictional worlds are one and the same. Or as Heldt notes, 'They [famous musicians] are attractions in themselves but are also "reality props" for the fictional story, vouching for its credibility.'[296] Moreover, in the case of *Wunschkonzert,* the musicians appear as themselves in the film (rather than as fictional characters) thus avoiding the need for fictional character construction. In such instances, the appearance of famous musicians act as moments of intersection between extra-fictional reality and the diegesis.

During the Second World War, a trend for autothematicism in films from the Third Reich saw the star play a central role in advocating the value of entertainment for wartime collectivity. Rather than threatening the fictional status of the film, the dual function of stars as both fictional and real was utilised in order to comment on the entertainment industry itself. In *Die große Liebe*, for example, the revue singer Hannah is played by star singer Zarah Leander, doubling extra-fictional and intra-fictional reality. During one scene in which she performs to an audience of soldiers, the star is shown to be doing her bit for the war effort, in a similar manner to Hollywood canteen films such as *Star Spangled Rhythm* [1942],[297] *Thank Your Lucky Stars* [1943],[298] *Stage Door Canteen* [1943],[299] *Cowboy Canteen* [1944],[300] and *Hollywood Canteen* [1944].[301] In these films, fictional back-stage narratives tie together scenes of performances that are explicitly linked to the war through the presence of soldiers and song lyrics that reference the contemporary war situation. In *Die große Liebe* Hannah sings a song about the war to a room of soldiers. The lyrics 'the world will not go under' is a message that simultaneously addresses the diegetic audience of soldiers, and the spectators watching the film.[302] A review in the *Film-Kurier* focused on the film's ability to speak to contemporary audiences

[295] Winters, *Music, Performance, and the Realities of Film*, p. 46.
[296] Heldt, *Music and Levels of Narration in Film,* p. 39
[297] *Star Spangled Rhythm*, d. George Marshall, s. Harry Tugend, m. Harold Arlen, p.c. Paramount Pictures (USA, 1942).
[298] *Thank Your Lucky Stars*, d. David Butler, s. Norman Panama and Melvin Frank, m. Heinz Roemheld, p.c. Warner Bros. (USA, 1943).
[299] *Stage Door Canteen*, d. Frank Borzage, s. Frank Borzage and Sol Lesser, m. Fred Rich, p.c. Sol Lesser Productions (USA, 1943).
[300] *Cowboy Canteen*, d. Lew Landers, s. Paul Gangelin, m. John Leipold and Paul Sawtell, p.c. Columbia Pictures Corporation (USA, 1944).
[301] *Hollywood Canteen*, d. Delmer Daves, s. Delmer Daves, m.d. Leo F. Forbstein, p.c. Warner Bros. (USA, 1944).
[302] Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich,* p. 294.

stating that 'the topic finds its parallels in so many human fortunes shaped by war that the film can count on audience resonance just on account of this.'[303] The use of the term parallels hints at the cohabitation of these multiple interpretive levels.

Music as Mediation

During the radio sequence in *Wunschkonzert,* multiple spaces are linked by the music on the radio, which remains constant and unchanged, ignoring the different acoustic resonances of the locations. Requests are received from Germans in the countryside as well as in occupied territories, emphasising the widespread locations of the *Volksgemeinschaft.* For example, Vienna is included in the display of the *Volksgenossen* [national comrades] when actor Paul Hörbiger (who was born in Budapest and appeared in many Wiener Film) sings the traditional Wienerlied *Apollonerl* and accompanies himself on the accordion. During the chorus, the audience sing along loudly, becoming active participants in the display of a post-*Anschluss* community. In another sequence the actor and comedy folksinger Weiß Ferdl sings the song 'Ich bin so froh, ich bin kein Intellektueller' [I am so happy, I am not an intellectual] in Bavarian dress, which plays with stereotypes associated with Bavarians and at the end of the song, he jokes that *Wunschkonzert* should be in Munich as it is the capital of the arts but they (Munich) let Berlin have it as they had so little. He claims that he was sent to Berlin to perform as 'Bavarians had to be a part of it too.' Whilst the disparate locations of the German *Volk* is displayed, Berlin maintains its position at the centre of the community.

This national community is further articulated through the depiction of listeners on-screen responding to the music played on *Wunschkonzert*. Music is shown to unite disparate individuals and foster the impression of a national community in the film through an extended montage sequence, with shots of German soldiers listening to the radio at the front and mothers and wives listening to their personal radio sets in their home placed next to one another. Each of these listeners (some of which are characters from the film whilst others are anonymous but individualised listeners) is shown to be participating in one shared event with the sound of the radio providing a sonic link that transcends their geographical separation. The camera focuses on the emotional response of the listeners, each of which are visibly moved by the music and its affective power.

[303] Günther Schwark, 'Die große Liebe,' *Film-Kurier,* 24, (13 June 1942) cit. in Heldt, 'Front Theatre,' p.67.

Importantly, it is not just heritage or tradition but also a modern, mass medium that binds individuals - the National Socialist's view of the national community is not just nostalgic, but also modern. For Schulte-Sasse, the film attempts to reconcile the contradiction inherent in Nazi ideology between the 'modern' and the 'antimodern' and between 'alienation' and 'community'.[304] In each of the scenes of listening in the montage sequence, the radio technology is central to the mise-en-scene and this sense of community is, crucially, a mediated one.

Figure 2.3. Listeners performing tasks with their hands.

Through the use of close-ups of the radio sets in the sequence, the visuals draw attention to the object producing the sound. Marks' notion of 'haptic looking' describes an embodied, sensorial engagement with film. She writes, 'Haptic looking tends to move over the surface of its object rather than to plunge into illusionistic depth, not to distinguish form so much as to discern texture. It is more inclined to move than to focus, more inclined to graze than to gaze.'[305] Whilst 'haptic images' move the focus away from the form of the object shown by means of abstraction and visual impairment (for example, through grainy footage) the images of the radio sets in *Wunschkonzert* are not abstracted. However, there is a strong focus on the hands, with close-ups of one listener's hands as

[304] Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich,* p. 294.
[305] Marks, *The Skin of the Film*, p. 162.

they thread wool onto knitting needles and other listener performing tasks with their hands [Figure 2.3.].

In one scene the soldier Schwartzkopf's mother listens to 'Gute Nacht, Mutter' ['Goodnight Mother'] on the radio after the death of her son. The camera lingers on the radio before moving across the piano keys, inviting the eye over the surface of the instrument, and past a photo of Schwartzkopf before settling on the mother sitting at a table listening [figure 2.4.]. Sitting between the radio and the piano is a miniature bust of Beethoven, creating a semiotic link between past and present forms of musical engagement. For Schwartzkopf's mother, the radio's soundwaves have come to replace those of her son's piano playing and the movement of the camera over the surface of the piano keys hint at Schwartzkopf's spiritual presence in the song. A connection of sorts between the dead and the living is mediated through music and its transmittance through modern technology. Interestingly, 'haptic images' in Marks' sense of the word are often used during death scenes in films directed by Veit Harlan, as 'haptic' looking is reserved for death and technology. This transcendental death and spiritual presence is less surprising when considered in relation to the *Volk*, which was conceptualised not only as a community of living German people but also included the dead.

In an earlier scene in Schwartzkopf's home, it is not modern technology but the piano that brings the community together in communion. The characters are sent upstairs in the apartment building to tell Schwartzkopf and his mother that dinner is ready to eat one-by-one, but on hearing Beethoven on the piano, they each sit down in the room to listen. When each character enters the room, they are told to be quiet because 'it's Beethoven'. In these repeated interruptions, the familiar, everyday 'dinner's ready' call and the subsequent silencing undermines the reverence with which the listeners hold Beethoven and with this example of bathos, the film makes fun of the pious listening practices of the neighbours as well as an icon of 'high art'. In the request concert, the overture from Mozart's *Figaro* appears alongside a laughing clarinet and popular songs, with the emphasis placed on popular music genres.

Figure 2.4. Shwartzkopf communicates through the song 'Gute Nacht, Mutter'

This representation of music-making in the home is presented as archaic, in contrast to the modern, mediated form of listening privileged in the long montage sequence. As Heldt has noted, Schwartzkopf's link to Classical music is suspect in the

film[306] – he is not married but lives with his mother and only becomes heroic at his hour of death by leading the soldiers through thick fog back to the church by playing the organ. In this instance, the soldiers' act of listening to Schwartzkopf's rendition of Beethoven leads them to safety, linking listening with salvation. However, Schwartzkopf (the performer and not listener) who has been linked with an outdated mode of affective community dies a sentimental, and overwrought, death.[307] The listeners in this scene are separated from the source of the music and whilst it is not mediated through technology, the music acts as mediation between Schwarzkopf and the soldiers. In this sequence the old technology (that of the organ) is removed to make way for the new modern means of musical production in the domestic sphere.

Listening Practices: Auditory Alignment and Shared Subjectivity

In the cinema of the Third Reich anonymous audiences become cognitive stand-ins for the spectators watching the film. Whilst close-up shots of the performer can foster a sense of intimacy of address, close-up shots of a listener can also give the impression of emotional intimacy, as we are shown their affective responses. In concert settings where the diegetic listeners are anonymous figures, they can act as cognitive stand-ins for the spectator – anonymous silhouettes onto which the spectator can identify their own position as viewer and listener.

For scenes in which the song or performance are of ideological significance, these audiences tend to be anonymous, foregrounding the impression of direct rapport for the spectator. In *Die große Liebe* Hannah sings the song 'davon geht die welt nicht unter' [The World Will Not Go Under] to an audience of soldiers. As the song enters the chorus the soldiers begin to sway and sing along, becoming active participants in the performance. The camera starts the scene in the back of the room, imitating the view from the back row of seats and setting the scene for the performance. The camera then pans over the tops of heads before cutting to a close-up of Hannah, just shy of her eyeline, as the orchestral accompaniment enters for the chorus. As the chorus continues, the camera cuts to shots of soldiers in the audience; first shown to be engaging with the song emotionally and then joining in chorus whilst swaying with linked arms. As the music builds in texture, first with the introduction of orchestral accompaniment and then with the additional chorus

[306] Heldt, 'Front Theatre,' p. 65. For more on this, see Heldt, 'Hardly Heroes.'
[307] See Chapter Four for more on this scene.

of soliders, the scene is turned into a spectacle of community and the song lyrics, narrative framing and soldiers' uniforms all serve as references to wartime collectivity. This transition from passive, anonymous spectator to active, collective participant is heavy with references to community and collective support. The fact that the on-screen listeners who become participants are anonymous figures and not named characters in the film allows them to act as cognitive stand-ins for the film's own spectators.

Whilst the performance of 'davon geht die welt nicht unter' serves as a symbol of wartime collectivity, Hannah's first performance, and the moment at which she is spotted by her lover-to-be Paul, is used to introduce the famous star Zarah Leander and to position her within the narrative. The opening shot features a sea of anonymous listeners and the camera is positioned amongst them in the stalls, looking at the stage as the curtain opens on the act. The camera then pans forward, through the proscenium whilst interestingly, the audience extends forwards, through this fourth wall and into the performance space [figure 2.5.]. The camera then cuts to a view of the stage from the left, before showing a direct shot of Paul watching her perform, visibly moved by her performance. As the camera gets closer to Hannah and the stage, the focus is shifted from spectacle towards that of narrative, as we see shots of Paul's reaction followed by close-up shots of Hannah and then a shot of the conductor from Hannah's perspective.

The camera-work signifies Paul's experience of love at first sight as one of spectator in relation to performer – the same relationship between the extra-fictional audience and Zarah Leander, who by this point is not a developed fictional character. This sequence is the first instance at which the spectator is shown Leander and by introducing her through a diegetic performance, her transformation into a fictional character is mediated through the doubling of her star status – the spectator sees both Zarah Leander performing, as if directly to them, and the fictional character Hannah perform to the diegetic audience. This transition towards the central characters moves the spectators' attention from the cinematic spectacle to the narrative and with this, from the communal experience of the performance towards that of the individual characters. However, this is done not through the music (which would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to achieve) but through the visual framing and use of close-ups. In doing so, the film moves

from one form of immediacy based on the idea of objective representation towards one based on suture and spectator subject-formation.[308]

Figure 2.5. Zarah Leander as Zarah Leander in *Die große Liebe.*

[308] Carlo Cenciarelli discusses these two modes of immediacy in relation to the VHS and DVD cases of the 'live-performances' of Verdi's *Don Carlos* in Cenciarelli, 'At the margins of the televisual: picture frames, loops and 'cinematics' in the paratexts of opera videos,' *Cambridge Opera Journal,* 25:2, (2013), pp. 203-223.

If the music appears to be focalized through an individual character, the audience is invited to hear the music from their perspective but more common is the use of external focalization, in which the music is represented as diegetic fact that is accessible to all of the characters present in the scene equally.[309] Of course, this is also an issue of the available film sound technology, as sonic focalization requires advanced recording equipment and editing software. As such, attempts to focalize the representation of listening are usually attempted by visual means. The types of musical performances and acts of on-screen listening to be found in the films are varied. On the one hand, scenes of formal concert performances tie up the on-screen performers and the diegetic audiences together in one musical experience and on the other, informal musical practices blur the line between performer and listener. Whilst scenes of performances do not need on-screen listeners in order to foster a sense of a collective community, many of the films to emerge from both film cultures do include on-screen acts of listening, both solitary listeners and diegetic concert audiences, and the presence of these diegetic listeners has the potential to alter spectator identification processes.

Murray Smith's structure of sympathy explains spectators' engagement with characters as a layered system that we learn through our everyday encounters. Smith outlines three layers in our identification processes: 'recognition' in which we construct the character based on types we have encountered; 'alignment' where access to a character's feelings and actions help align us with their perspective; and 'allegiance', through which we evaluate characters based on our own system of morals.[310] For Ben Winters, who takes Smith's structure as the basis for his argument, our alignment with the on-screen listeners in scenes of musical performances is strengthened by our being able to imagine that we are participating in a shared experience – that we hear what they hear:

> Perhaps only when character and audience are offered the chance to share the same musical experience – or to conceptualise the experience as one that might

[309] I borrow the theory of focalization from Edward Branigan, *Narrative Comprehension and Film* (London/ New York: Routledge, 1992.) Also see discussion in Heldt, *Music and Levels of Narration in Film,* pp. 119-133.
[310] Murray Smith, *Engaging Characters: Fiction, Emotion, and the Cinema* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 102.

> be shared – is music's power in cinema realized (as an emotional tool that helps us engage with fictional characters).[311]

On-screen performances and/or acts of on-screen listening allows the spectator to participate in the experience of watching or listening to a performance along with the characters. However, a distinction must be made between scenes that represent diegetic music as it is heard by all of characters that are present in the scene and that which is heard as if *through* the sensory perception of a specific diegetic character. The latter is harder to achieve and often the films rely on the accompanying visuals in order to imply interiority. As such, the music that is performed in Soviet and Nazi cinema is not often focalized through any particular character, even if the sequence is, through the cinematic gaze. The music alone gives the impression that the spectator is watching the performance as if at the event; *alongside* the characters rather than from their perspective. This distinction is important as scenes that are not focalized through a particular character allow the spectator to watch the performance as if part of the diegetic audience. With this qualification in mind, our 'alignment' with the characters on-screen through access to the same auditory experience as them works for all of the characters present. However, by this point within the film the cinematic apparatus has already privileged identification with certain characters and so if close-up shots of the main characters' responses are shown, our experience of 'alignment' will be stronger for these characters than for the shadows of diegetic audience members.

The point-of-view shot has received lots of attention as a device for implying interiority or subjectivity in cinema – allowing the spectator to see what the character sees. However, an equivalent technique for music is less straightforward. Heldt argues the case for an adapted version of Edward Branagan's concepts of 'internal focalization (surface)' and 'internal focalization (depth)', both of which Heldt refers to as variations of 'focalization *through*' a character and their sensory perception.[312] However, whilst the camera can more easily show what a character sees, it is harder to distinguish a specific point of audition,[313] except for in extreme cases, such as instances in which a character has a hearing impairment that alters the sound.[314] As previously mentioned, this is

[311] Winters, *Music, Performance and the Realities of Film*, p. 66.
[312] Heldt, *Music and Levels of Narration in Film,* p. 122.
[313] Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound On-Screen*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp. 89-94.
[314] See Guido Heldt's analysis of *Un grand amour de Beethoven* [*The Life and Loves of Beethoven*] d. Abel Gance, 1936 in Heldt, *Music and Levels of Narration in Film,* p. 125.

complicated further when considering early films as the technologies needed to achieve sonic focalization were not available. In most instances of diegetic concert performances, the music is understood as the physical sound heard by the diegetic audience in general. Or in Branagan's terms they are examples of 'external focalization'.[315]

There are a handful of examples in which the visuals imply interiority or internal focalization. In the Veit Harlan melodrama *Die goldene Stadt* [*The Golden City*][316] the central character attends a performance of Bedřich Smetena's *Prodaná nevěsta* [*The Bartered Bride*] in Vienna. During the sequence we are shown the stage first from far back in the audience and then the camera cuts to close-ups of Anna's joyous expression. The camera then shows us Anna's point of view, panning slowly up the walls of the opera house towards the chandelier on the ceiling, before cutting to show Anna's eyes drop back down towards the stage as her attention is brought back to the performance in front of her. The images first clearly demonstrate Anna's emotional response to the performance by showing her expression, before showing the room from her perspective, aligning the spectator with her experience. In drawing the spectator's focus away from the performers on-screen towards the opulence of the hall the film mirrors Anna's own experience at that moment. The music does not change, but continues at the same volume, with the same fidelity and ambience. As there is no distinction between the diegetic music as fact and Anna's own auditory experience, it could be argued that the music is still external focalization, but when considered alongside the visuals as they follow Anna's gaze, the focus shifts towards Anna's perception of the event and thus becomes internal focalization (surface). The choice here to focalize the concert experience though a character takes on significance when considered within the narrative and moral context of the film. Anna has always dreamed of the city and has forsaken her family and community by running away. Vienna is linked with dangerous seduction in the film both through her affair with her cousin, who then abandons her, and through this concert sequence, in which we are shown Anna's fascination with the city and its opera houses.

Another example in which the visuals imply focalised listening occurs in *Der große König* [*The Great King,* 1940][317] where two scenes of private listening give insight into the

[315] Branigan, *Narrative Comprehension and Film*; Heldt, *Music and Levels of Narration in Film,* pp. 119-133
[316] *Die goldene Stadt* [*The Golden City*], d. Veit Harlan, s. Veit Harlan, Alfred Braun, m. Hans-Otto Borgmann, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1942).
[317] *Der große König* [*The Great King*] d. Veit Harlan, s. Veit Harlan, m. Hans-Otto Borgmann, p.c. Tobis-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1940).

inner world of the king figure, Frederick the Great. During the first scene, the King has just avoided an assassination attempt through his rejection of luxury – he is offered a poisoned cup of hot chocolate that he turns down. After taking himself away into the adjacent room, he sits down and dreams of home in times of peace. The music begins as non-diegetic emotional underpinning whilst the King finishes his conversation and takes himself away. As he sits down, the camera pans over to the wall where his shadow is cast and the film begins a dream sequence in which the shadow leads the spectator into the palace, with its symbols of the Enlightenment, such as a close-up of the complete works of Proust on a bookshelf, and a chamber concert. The music is no longer non-diegetic, as the visuals of a violinist and harpist performing are the internal imaginings of the King making this an example of internal focalization (deep) – the music is focalized *through* the mind of the King. Alternatively, the sequence could be understood as metadiegetic as the music is controlled by the mind of the King. Of course, the music we hear in our memories or dreams is unrenderable and so the film uses visual abstraction in an attempt to represent this vagueness. However, the abstraction also allows the sequence to take on a sense of immediacy by stepping outside of diegetic truth; foregrounding the nostalgic and affective power of the sequence. As Schulte-Sasse states, the King is abstracted from himself, opening up identification patterns for the viewer: 'Just as Frederick's frailty makes him more of a Thing, his solitude paradoxically augments our sense of community with him. We identify with elements that function as signifiers of their own opposite - an effect enhanced by the fact that, since the shadow has no body, we inhabit that body.'[318] The foregrounding of music through visual abstraction and montage is a common feature in Nazi films more generally and they are so common in the films of Veit Harlan that they can be considered an authorial signature.

The final sequence of the film makes the use of on-screen listening as an embodiment of the national community more explicit. The scene is another example of the Veit Harlan melodramatic moment and the visuals and foregrounding of music endows the scene with a sense of transcendence to the national register.[319] The King sits alone in a cathedral, shot in wide-angle to emphasise the scale of the building, listening to the sounds of the organ, played by an off-screen musician. At no point are we shown a close-up of the instrument or of the organist, with the focus placed firmly on the King's

[318] Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich*, p. 111.
[319] See chapter 4 for a discussion of Harlan's use of such techniques for moments of death.

emotional response to the music – on the act of listening, rather than performing. The camera cuts to close-up shots of the King, with tears rolling down his face in a moment of emotional release. As an inverse of the initial listening scene in which music was contained within the imaginary or nostalgic plane, here, in solitude and now that the war is over, the King is permitted to express his frailty and humanism. Female voices enter with open vowels, and the image of the King's eyes is superimposed with multiple exposures over a sequence of pastoral scenes. Windmills, with their ability to harness the wind, serve as a symbol of resourcefulness and resilience. The King's eyes look over the spatially disparate scenes that are linked with *Heimat* and *Volk* signifying national cohesion as well as the King's omnipotence [Figure 2.6.]. Textless voices (especially female ones) are a common signifier of transcendence in 19th and early-20th century music[320] and the imagery is heavy with religious referents.

Figure 2.6. The King as all-seeing and all-hearing in *Der große König*.

The final sequence could also be described as an example of internal focalization (depth) but to do so would be a simplification. The images of the fields and windmill are

[320] For more on this, see Guido Heldt, ''Delius' *Song of the High Hills* und die Idee einer Vokalmusik ohne Worte', Ulrich Tadday (ed.) in *Frederick Delius,* (Munich: edition text+kritik, 2008), pp. 53-81. Also see chapter 4 for more on the use of textless vocals in Viet Harlan films.

not inside the King's mind but are abstract representations of community cohesion as well as the omnipotence of the King figure. The music acts as bridge that unites the King's seemingly private act of listening with the expression of a national community – one that also fosters a sense of affective community for the spectator through the foregrounding of sensorial engagement.

The visuals also foreground a sensorial engagement with the film through the use of haptic images. The images are obscured and abstracted, as attention is drawn to the surface of the film, and to the film as material. Veit Harlan frequently used superimposition for moments of heightened emotional intensity. In particular, images were often superimposed with flags (or a non-descript blue material in *Opfergang* [*The Sacrifice*, 1944][321]), which draws attention to the surface and texture of the film. In doing so, the sequences foreground sensorial experience, drawing on tactile memory. Not only this, but listening is haptic by nature –sound waves cause the ear drum to vibrate – and the combination of haptic visuals with heavily foregrounded music places the affective function of the scene at the foreground.

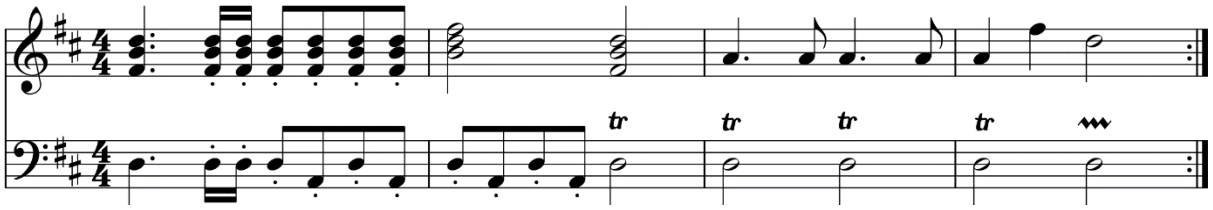
Music as Reconciliation

In each instance of diegetic music in *Wunschkonzert*, it is shown to serve a reconciliatory function. Rick Altman's dual focus narrative works well here, as the film first introduces us to Herbert and then Inge before showing them meet at the Olympic games – a space that symbolically brings together male and female in communion. There are also many secondary plot lines and characters in the film, all of which are tied together through the radio show. Music and listening brings people together but in doing so, it also reconciles other contrasting elements. History and fiction become merged as history is fictionalised and fiction is historicised[322]; the war front and home front are united in the national community; popular and high-art entertainment are performed side by side on the radio and male and female are united in matrimony.

The opening credits of the film outlines some of these dualities. It combines signifiers from the musical film genre (the stars names are exhibited over stylised musical notation) with iconography from the Third Reich (the use of Gothic font and the

[321] *Opfergang* [*The Sacrifice*], d. Veit Harlan, s. Veit Harlan, Alfred Braun, m. Hans-Otto Borgmann, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1944). See Chapter Four for more on this scene in relation to on-screen depictions of death.
[322] Heldt, 'Front Theatre,' pp. 72-74.

Swastika). It presents a triangulation of entertainment, nation and war through both visual and acoustic signifiers. The music draws on a lexicon of gender signification in film music that is mirrored in the romantic coupling. An opening brass fanfare, with semantic links to militarism, gives way to a sentimental idiom in the form of melodic strings [Example 2.2.].



Example 2.2. *Wunschkonzert Fanfare* signals militarism from the opening credits.

The film represents the coming together of the civilian population with the military in support of the war through the heterosexual coupling, which works on both a personal and national register.[323] The opening credit sequence hints at the primary themes of the film – the conflation of national and personal narratives, the bringing together of civilian and soldier into the national collective and the role of entertainment in the war effort – and serves as a mediatory space between fiction and extra-fictionality. Concerning credit sequences in general, Heldt writes that 'the credits delimit a space within which the fiction may legitimately take place.'[324] In *Wunschkonzert* this space is both personal and collective, military and sentimental and modern and traditional.

Case B: *Kubanskiye Kazaki* and the 'brotherhood of the nations'

The communities represented through moments of on-screen performance in the Soviet Union, like their Nazi counterpart, also contain traces of ideology and cultural policy. In Ivan Pïr'yev's *kolkhoz* [collective farm] musical, *Kubanskiye Kazaki* [*The Cossacks of Kuban,* 1949][325] scenes of musical performances serve to showcase everyday rural life in Soviet Kuban for urban cinemagoers, engaging with the concept of the Soviet Union as a multi-ethnic empire. The film itself becomes a false mediator between two distinct communities within the Soviet Union that were supposedly united under the Soviet

[323] ibid., p. 74.
[324] Heldt, *Music and Levels of Narration in Film*, p. 24.
[325] *Kubanskiye Kazaki* [*The Cossaks of Kuban*], d. Ivan Pïry'ev, s. Nikolay Pogodin, m. Isaak Dunayevskiy, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1949).

'brotherhood of the nations.'[326] The space in which the fiction is situated is distinctly rural, but not authentically Kuban, instead serving as a generic stand-in for the *narod* [folk].

The plot follows the workers of two collective farms as they prepare for the Autumn Fair. The chairwoman of the female farm is in love with the chairman of the male farm and vice versa but their professional rivalry keeps them from acknowledging their feelings. When two of the workers from the retrospective farms also fall in love, the leaders are forced to set aside their rivalry and work together. The fair takes up a substantial and significant portion of the running time with the film structured around this event. The highlight of the fair is an amateur variety concert, in which the workers showcase Kuban culture through song, dance and comedy sketches.

Despite its setting, the community celebrated in *Kubanskiye Kazaki* is that of the Soviet collective. As mentioned in the introduction, members of the national republics in the Soviet Union were accepted into the Soviet collective but national identities and cultures were subordinate to this overarching community. This is reflected in Stalin's statement that,

> Under the conditions of a dictatorship of the proletariat within a single country, the rise of cultures national in form and socialist in content has to take place, so that when the proletariat wins in the whole world and socialism is part of ordinary life, these cultures will merge into one culture, socialist both in form and in content with a common language – this is the dialectics of Lenin's approach to the issue of national culture.[327]

In other words, national identities were necessary but only as a means to an end. This section will demonstrate how the use of on-screen listening in *Kubanskiye Kazaki* reflects this relationship between the national and the Soviet as the cultures are presented as something to listen to, but not in the purposeful, transformative manner with which

[326] For more on the question of national identity in the Soviet Union see Bassin and Kelly (eds.), S*oviet and Post-Soviet Identities*; Ronald Suny and Terry Martin (eds.), *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Francine Hirsch, 'Toward an Empire of Nations: Border-Making and the Formation of Soviet National Identities,' *Russian Review*, 59: 2, (April 2000), pp. 201-26.; Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001); Yuri Slezkine, 'The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism,' *Slavic Review*, 53:2, (Summer 1994), pp. 414-52.

[327] Iosif Stalin, *Marksizm i Natsional'no-kolonial'nïy Vopros¸* (Moscow, 1935), p. 195, cit. in Marina Frolova-Walker, '"National in Form, Socialist in Content": Musical Nation-Building in the Soviet Republics,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 51:2, (Summer, 1998), pp. 331-371.

individuals were encouraged to engage with music from the Russian canon. It will also examine the different ways in which on-screen listening and musical performances are framed in Soviet cinema and through this, will demonstrate that the community with which spectators were encouraged to engage was that of the Soviet and increasingly Russiocentric community.

Agro-Romanticism and Nostalgia

Kubanskiye Kazaki is set in the 1930s in an agro-romantic past. The opening sequence defines the diegetic space in a similar manner to the 'city awakening' scenes common in city symphony films. The city symphony is a predominantly non-fictional genre, but fictional films such as *Love Me Tonight* and to a lesser extent *Sous les Toits de Paris* [*Under the Rooftops of Paris*, 1931][328] and *Le Million* [*The Million*, 1931][329] also employ an awakening scene of sorts. The two films by René Clair open on wide-angle shots of the roofs of Paris, before slowly transitioning into the diegesis of the film. Similarly, the opening shots in *Kubanskiye Kazaki* shift from a wide camera angle to close-ups of crops, and then to people. This shifts the focus slowly from an ostensibly objective representation of the space, towards the fictional story. This defining of space is similar not only to city symphony films but also to the concert performance in *Die große Liebe*.

Kubanskiye Kazaki opens with a slow montage of wide-angle shots of empty crop fields. The camera is positioned above the crop level, avoiding any foregrounding of individual plants, and is held stationary. As the music gains momentum, the camera drops to a lower level, with crops in the foreground, and starts to pan to the right, past some tractors which take over as the object of the camera's gaze [figure 2.7.].

Figure 2.7. The camera moves from observational position to level of human activity.

[328] *Sous les toits de Paris* [*Under the Rooftops of Paris*], d. René Clair, s. René Clair, m. Armand Bernard, Raoul Moretti (songs), René Nazelles (songs), (France, 1930).
[329] *Le Million* [*The Million, 1931*] d. René Clair, s. René Clair, m. Armand Bernard, Philippe Parès, Georges Van Parys, p.c. Tobis Sound Company (France, 1930).

Maintaining the orchestral accompaniment from the opening credits, the relationship between music and image gradually draws the viewer into the diegesis of the film, with the music crossing over from the non-diegetic space into the diegesis of the film just as signs of human activity are introduced into the images. Choral voices enter singing a song for the harvest and the camera seeks out the source of the singing, which turns out to be a group of farm workers. With the orchestral accompaniment, this song still inhabits a performative space between the fictional world of the film and that of the audience. Once the harvest has been collected, the camera resumes its lofty position, to show the vast expanse of Soviet land, accompanied by nothing but birdsong.

The transition from the Mosfil'm logo, through the credits and into the space of the film is gradual and is underscored by continuous music. The opening sequence acts as a spectacle of collective *narodnost'* that is distinct from the narrative and the cyclical form sets it apart as a prologue of sorts. The lyrics, when they enter, reference happy farmers who are willing to work all day long to provide corn for the nation. In referencing their role in providing food for the country, the film addresses the spectators as members of this collective community through reference to the contemporary situation. Rural life is linked with productivity and community as the scene moves from stillness to bustling activity and the music builds in dynamics, tempo and texture.

The diegesis proper is reached once the camera is lowered for a second time. In this instance animals provide gentle movement, in contrast to the previous hive of human productivity, and the scene is accompanied by slow off-screen *a cappella* voices. Horse-drawn carts then enter the frame from the left, and we are shown the collective farmers singing whilst on their way home [Figure 2.8.]. This agro-romantic scene presents a nostalgia for tradition, with its lack of machinery (in contrast to the prelude sequence) and simple *a cappella* voices.

Figure 2.8. The camera finally settles on the narrative.

In Nikita Khrushchev's 'secret speech' of 1956, he criticised Soviet filmmakers for presenting a false picture of life in the countryside under Stalin.[330] In particular, Ivan Pïr'yev's 'kolkhoz musical' films have come to be associated with this criticism.[331] The farm workers are shown to live a life of abundance, exceeding farming quotas with surplus produce to sell whilst the reality was very different. Mass starvation occurred in the Soviet countryside between 1946-47, just a couple of years before the film's release. The Second World War had resulted in depleted resources, particularly horses and men, and in 1946 a severe drought had swept Moldova, Ukraine and parts of the lower Volga region. Despite these circumstances, state policies were not adapted, and procurement quotas remained high, leaving very little grain for the workers.[332] Much earlier than this, the Soviet famine of 1932-34 had already taken many lives in Kuban. The opening sequence, with its display of abundance, presents an idealised and fictional representation of collective farm life to the spectators in the city in a form which sits between faux objectivity and fiction.

Forms of Pseudo-objectivity

Unlike the opening sequence, which acts as a transition into an agro-romantic past, the variety performance, which also stands out as a self-contained sequence, highlights its own constructed nature and gestures beyond the cinematic frame to enhance the 'liveness' of the sequence. It begins with a poster for the concert, which acts as a boundary between the performance space and the diegesis by delineating the conditions for the following sequence and introducing the performance as if directly to the spectator. Taking this impression of direct address further, the camera then cuts to a shot of the audience looking out towards the camera.

The use of direct address between the on-screen audience and the spectators in the cinema appears to acknowledge the audience outside of the diegesis. In doing so, the film highlights its own constructed nature whilst fostering the impression of a direct communication. The diegetic audience acts as a mirror image of the extra-fictional audience and in placing the camera in front of the audience, the spectator is shown the

[330] Speech delivered by Nikita Krushchev to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party on February 25 1956. Available at https://www.marxists.org/archive/khrushchev/1956/02/24.htm (accessed 21 September 2018).
[331] Richard Taylor, 'Singing on the Steppes for Stalin,' p. 143.
[332] For detailed facts about the production and distribution of grain during the famine see Michael Ellman, 'The 1947 Soviet Famine and the Entitlement Approach to Famines,' *Cambridge Journal of Economics,* 24, (2000), pp. 603–630.

individual faces of the group, whilst also creating the odd sensation that they are watching us, rather than the other way around. These listeners are individualised, but the unusual framing hinders their fictionalisation.

In focusing on the faces and expressions of the on-screen listeners, the emphasis during this sequence is on the reception of the music and its affective power, in a similar manner to the sing-along sequence in *Wunschkonzert*. However, whilst in *Wunschkonzert* the camera assumes a neutral position above the performers, in this sequence it is a point-of-view shot taken from the position of the dancers on-stage. At first the position is anonymous and formless allowing the spectator to imagine themselves in that space, before the camera pans backwards through the dancers on-stage [Figure 2.9.]. The sequence fosters a sense of 'liveness' or 'presentness' that makes the most of our 'primary identification' with the film apparatus itself and the spectator is invited to view the performance as if in the space, rather than from a lofty camera position. The gaze of the diegetic audience makes the spectator aware of their own presence.

Figure 2.9. Diegetic audience breaks the fourth wall; View from the stage.

The use of diegetic audiences and concert settings are not the only way in which scenes of musical performances make ideological claims to objectivity. As Carlo Cenciarelli has demonstrated in his analysis of the paratext of the live opera DVD, there are multiple forms of pseudo-objectivity and not just one based on the acknowledgment of the conditions of production and self-reflexive elements.[333] Suture with the cinema apparatus is another form of pseudo-objectivity that promises an immersive viewing experience precisely by making the medium transparent.

The audience watching *Kubanskiye Kazaki* may have been familiar with the wartime revue films that used a similar form of pseudo-objectivity through suture. They

[333] Carlo Cenciarelli, 'At the Margins of the Televisual,' pp. 203-223.

showcased popular pre-existing songs performed by real-life musicians with minimal narrative framing. Whilst wartime films in the Third Reich such as *Wunschkonzert* and *Die grosse Liebe* referenced their own mode of production, celebrating the role of entertainment through narratives that put this at the forefront, the Soviet revue films (most of which were produced by Lenfil'm) did not frame the on-screen performances within diegetic theatre spaces at all. Instead they only represented the space on-stage, mimicking the spacial relationship between audience (in this case the film audience) and stage in the theatre. The films utilised cinema's potential to present morale-boosting entertainment to wide audiences across the country, including soldiers at the front. These films did not show cinema (or radio) connecting soldiers and the home front, but the films themselves were shown to viewers in both disparate geographical locations and their own mediating function was foregrounded through the use of direct address.

One of these Lenfil'm revue films, Semyon Timoshenko's *Kontsert na ekrane/Fil'm-kontsert* [*Concert on the Screen/Film-Concert*, 1940][334] is a series of self-contained performances by real-life stars that are only loosely linked together with scenes of the host, who introduces the numbers with visual cues such as a shot of a programme, or through a dissolve from a painting into the scene. The numbers are presented to the audience as direct address – the performers appear to acknowledge the presence of the spectators – and in breaking the fourth wall, the separation between the diegesis and the film audience is mitigated. Of course, unlike in theatre where the actors are present on stage, it is impossible for the performer on-screen to communicate directly with the audience as they are not present in the same space, but the illusion of such communication is created. The impression of live-ness and present-ness during the scenes makes them 'instantiating', rather than alienating in the Brechtian sense.[335] Films such as *Kontsert na ekrane* make the most of our primary identification with the film apparatus as it allows us to participate in the experience of watching a series of performances through suture with the camera itself, rather than through the perspective of any particular character. The sequence in *Kubanskiye Kazaki* serves a similar mediating function as rural Soviet culture was exhibited to spectators who would largely have been from the city due to the disproportionate number of cinemas in the urban centres.[336]

[334] *Kontsert na Ekrane/Fil'm-Kontsert [Concert on the Screen/Film-Concert*] d. Semyon Timoshenko, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1940).
[335] Tom Brown, *Breaking the Fourth Wall,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013).
[336] Miller, 'Soviet Cinema, 1929-41,' pp. 103-124.

Spectators viewing the sequence may have been familiar with the Lenfil'm revue films and the introductory poster and the direct gaze of the audience serves a similar instantiating function, when viewed in light of these intertextual associations.

There are also instances within Soviet cinema that use extra-fictional referents as a mode of pseudo-objectivity, in a manner more akin to the Nazi case studies examined earlier. The use of real-life musicians in films, for example, was not uncommon in Soviet cinema and they were most often cast as fictional musicians. The appearance of the music star as themselves was generally reserved for the revue film. As previously mentioned, the appearance of real-life musicians can act as reality props, vouching for the credibility of the diegesis. In the musical comedy *Vesyolïye Rebyata,* the famous jazz musician Leonid Utesov played the male lead. Based on Utesov's stage show *The Music Shop*, his presence in the film links the two works together, turning the musical into a filmed version of the live show. Spectators would likely bring information regarding Utesov's public persona as well as the characters that he tended to play on-stage to Smith's 'recognition' process.[337] The musical heritage of the film, being based in the operetta tradition, lends itself to the string of performances that are tied together loosely by a plot. The secondary function of the plot means that the star does not really escape his extra-fictional persona. The spectator is also reminded of the actor's musical background as the central comic device is mistaken identity and the shepherd Kostya (Utesov) is frequently mistaken for the internationally famous conductor Kosta Fraskini. As we are also privy to extra-fictional information – that Kostya is played by a famous musician – the joke works on multiple levels and in this case, ensures that we do not let Kostya shed Utesov's persona. Through this, the film engages with its own constructed nature in a manner that appears to address the audience more directly.

The use of close-ups of the performer, with a soft focus and back lighting, are also frequently used in Grigoriy Aleksandrov's films to frame the performer and cut out the *mise-en-scene* and associated narrative framing. This draws attention away from the diegetic space towards the performance in a blinkering of sorts. Unlike in Hollywood, where musical numbers often reach supradiegetic heights by opening the space out, these scenes do not break the boundaries of diegetic logic and instead create a performative space by narrowing the focus of the camera. In addition, reflections are also often used to

[337] Smith, *Engaging Characters: Fiction, Emotion, and the Cinema*, p. 102.

create a space that appears to be separated from the diegesis. For example, in *Tsirk*, the Soviet hero Martïnov teaches the American Marion the 'Song of the Motherland.' As the sequence progresses, the film gradually drops the 'fictionality' of the diegesis and enters a performative space that coincides with a shift from the localised story into the realm of the Soviet people.

Figure 2.10. Marion and Martïnov become the Heroic Soviet couple.

The sequence begins with a view over Red Square and the 'Song of the Motherland' can be heard, at first appearing as non-diegetic music before the off-screen source is revealed. The camera pulls back through a window and into a hotel room, where Martïnov is singing the song and accompanying himself on a piano. Marion takes over the singing, and after a piano interlude, Marion proclaims 'sing Petrovich.' At this point, the couple

gaze down at their reflection in the piano lid and the disembodied voice of the professional singer Daniil Dem'yanov enters and takes over the melody. The music is no-longer diegetic but Marion and Martïnov appear to be listening to the performance (in defiance of diegetic logic) and the continuation of the song tells us that this is not straightforward non-diegetic narration. The couple's reflection is turned around, so that it is the right way up, and lights flicker behind them [Figure 2.10.]. The audience is no longer looking at Marion and Martïnov, but at the heroic Soviet couple. An Altman 'personality dissolve'[338] means that the spectators no longer see the characters. In the classic Hollywood model, they would see the performers but, in this instance, the focus is not on the star performances but on the symbolic function of the song and the characters. With the diegetic source of the music hidden, the performance transcends its own materiality and reaches a national register, reflecting the lyrics of the song which focus on the dialectic of vast space and unity. Not only this, but Marion and Martïnov become listeners in this sequence and their affective response to the music is privileged over the performance. Their facial expressions reveal strength and determination that when coupled with the ideological content of the song present the image of a strong, united national community.

In a wartime example, the 1940 film *Muzïkal'naya istoriya*, the famous lyric tenor Sergei Lemeshev played the central character - a taxi driver who learns to sing through dedicated listening practices and hard work. Lemeshev's own life had been a 'rags to riches' tale doubling intra and extra-fictional reality to a degree, whilst vouching for the credibility of the story – in the case of Lemeshev it really had happened. Lemeshev may not have been a taxi driver, but he had managed to break into opera singing despite his modest background. The film also uses pre-existing music, which serves as a reality prop. As the music exists outside of the filmic world, spectators would bring with it connotations that had already been established. In the case of *Muzïkal'naya istoriya* the film's production coincided with Chaykovskiy's centenary and the use of *Yevgeniy Onegin,* which had been staged numerously in recent years and was one of the classics promoted as part of the drive for *kulturnost'* [culturedness], links Petya's listening with the task of individual transformation into a cultured Soviet subject.

[338] Altman, *The American Film Musical*.

Narodnost' as 'Other'

In contrast, the music and dances in *Kubanskiye Kazaki* were not part of the Russian cultural canon and the way in which the sequence is framed sets it apart as 'other' to the rest of the film. Not only this, but the characters listen not with the purpose and dedication shown by Petya towards Chaykovskiy, but in a manner that frames the performances as entertainment without the transformative power of 'high art.' The first performance in the revue sequence is a folk song from the perspective of a women who is in love with a man – mirroring the chairwoman Galina's feelings for chairman Gordei (who are sat next to each other in the audience). Besides functioning as dramatic irony, the song also highlights the universality of the sentiment of undeclared affection and is demonstrative of the romanticism that Nisnevich has noted.[339] The next act is a Kuban dance, which the manager of Gordei's farm introduces to the spectator through the fictional audience. The male workers, dressed in traditional clothing, perform a lezginka [figure 2.11.].

Figure 2.11. The men from Gordei's farm perform a lezginka.

The final act to be shown is a humorous skit by Galina's poultry farmers. Two elderly ladies sing a gossipy song about the two chairmen that directly addresses the romance between them that everyone but the two people involved can see clearly, addressing both the characters on screen and the spectators, who are also in on the joke. Simultaneously, the balalaika accompanist makes fun of the gossipy women – a joke which is again shared with the spectators and the diegetic audience.

All of the performances are shot from a combination of perspectives including that of the audience, the performers on-stage and those waiting in the wings. It ends with a shot of the audience laughing whilst facing the camera, highlighting the affective power

[339] Nisnevich, 'Listening to *Muzykal'naia istoriia*,' pp. 207-209.

of the act and modelling the appropriate spectator response to the performance [figure 2.12.].

Figure 2.12. The diegetic audience as mirror for spectator response.

The performance sequence stands out from the rest of the film for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is nearly twenty minutes long and narrative development is put on hold for the full length of the sequence. The emphasis is placed on the performances as spectacles to behold rather than on their impact on the causal chain of events – in fact they do very little in terms of narrative development. Secondly, the majority of the film takes place outside in a seemingly infinite space, whereas this is firmly contained within the diegetic performance space. Finally, the self-reflexive nature of the poster, audience address, song lyrics and humour all foster the impression of a direct rapport that gestures beyond the confines of the film and the cinematic moment. This separation of the performances from the rest of the film turns them into a series of exhibits that are displayed, rather than integrated fully into the narrative. That the concert is intended within the narrative to showcase the talent amongst the collective farm workers takes on further meaning when considered in light of the likely audience of the film. Despite ambitious plans to bring cinema to remote regions of the Soviet Union, cinemagoers would largely be city dwellers, who theoretically had little to no knowledge of life in Kuban.

I have described the film as a 'false mediator' as while it brings images of life in Kuban to those living in the cities it is a fictional version that does not reflect any of the hardships faced by those in the region. As well as the aforementioned wave of famines that struck the region, the Kuban Cossacks had held a difficult position in the Soviet Union since the revolution as they were seen as a threat to the Bolsheviks due to their old loyalties to the Tsar and their collaboration with the Whites during the Civil War. As such,

a period of decossakisation occurred between 1917 and 1933. Beginning as an extreme policy aimed at eradicating the cossaks as an ethnic group altogether, in 1919 the focus shifted towards rehabilitation. After a period of Ukrainianisation in the 1920s and the subsequent reversal of this, most Kuban residents came to officially identify themselves as Russian by 1940. Despite the horrors of collectivisation and decossakisation, most of the Kuban Cossacks joined in the fight against the Germans in the Second World War. They were present at the 1945 victory parade[340] and, as Petr Meleb's poster for the 1946 May Day celebrations demonstrates, they were involved in Soviet state celebrations. The poster features images of Cossacks under the caption: 'Take a look: the entire Soviet nation is singing and dancing!' [Figure 2.13.] As such, a 1949 film set in the Kuban that celebrates some of its local culture (albeit as interesting decoration to a largely generic plot) is both strange, because of the contradictory relationship between the concept of Sovietness and its national republics, and timely in that the post-war climate celebrated their involvement in defending the Soviet nation.

Figure 2.13. Petr Golub: Take a Look! (1946)[341]

This contradictory relationship is also hinted at in the underlying message of folk primitivism that can be found in another performance scene in *Kubanskiye Kazaki*. Gordei is dragged reluctantly into a music store by his workers who are desperate for him to buy

[340] Valery Shambarov, *Kazachestvo Istoriya Volnoy Rusi*, (Moscow: Algorithm Expo, 2007).
[341] Image taken from Victoria Bonnell, *Russian Posters, 1914-1953* (2001) at www.soviethistory.msu.edu (accessed 19 September 2018).

them a grand piano. Naturally, Galina is one step ahead as usual and is already inside talking to the store owner about purchasing the instrument for her own farm. Galina asks the seller to play something for her so that she can hear what the piano sounds like. After comparing himself to the famous Soviet pianist Emil Gilels, he plays a medley of songs (including a self-quotation from Dunayevsky of the 'March of the Enthusiasts' from *Jolly Fellows*) in a pompous and comical manner. Galina then asks him to play something quiet and he chooses Chopin. Chopin had always been standard repertoire for pianists but after the Second World War, many Czech and Polish works of music were officially approved and performed as part of the expansion of the Eastern bloc. Even though the gestures of classical piano playing are parodied and exaggerated, the culture that Galina appears to be buying for her workers is that associated with the capital cities rather than folk culture.

In the Soviet Union, musical engagement was linked to the task of refining the individual's aesthetic insight. As part of the *kul'turnost'* [culturedness] drive in the Soviet Union, a range of 'civilized' behaviours were promoted by the regime such as dress, speech and hygiene along with an appreciation of music and high culture.[342] For Catriona Kelly and Vadim Volkov, the Soviet model of a cultured person is not unique and can be found in many etiquette manuals from other countries,[343] but the way in which it functioned was different in the Soviet context, where mastering culture became part of the ideological project of creating a Soviet consciousness. Whilst the aim was to be genuinely transformative for the individual, there was a heavy focus on self-presentation. Galina, in her acknowledgement of the value of culture for her workers, is further along the process of Soviet self-becoming than Gordei.

Later in the scene Galina tells Gordei that there is to be a wedding between two of their workers. Instead of the appropriate response (which is made clear to us in a later scene), Gordei gets angry and accuses Galina of poaching one of his workers and luring her with culture. He then leaves the shop and orders one of his managers to buy the piano. When the manager asks what the Board will say about the purchase he claims that they would not mind and states, 'We should know the cultural needs of the youth.' Gordei does not, in fact, know the cultural needs of the youth but is just trying to win his competition with Galina.

[342] Hoffmann, *Stalinist Values*, p. 16.
[343] Kelly and Volkov, 'Directed Desires: *Kul'turnost'* and Consumption.'

Listening Practices: Auditory Alignment and Shared Subjectivity

As was also the case in the Third Reich, on-screen listening practices are varied in Soviet cinema and different models of engagement serve distinct functions and have separate meanings attached to them. Throughout the extended variety show in *Kubanskiye Kazaki* the camera alternates between the position of the performers, that of the audience (the view of the stage from the stalls), and shots of the two farm leaders in the audience. The sequence focuses on both the production and reception of the show. As Nisnevich demonstrates, the 1940 film *Muzïkal'naya istoriya* represents listening as the privileged mode of aesthetic engagement, with every performance alternated with shots of listeners.[344] For Nisnevich, this shift in focus coincides with a move from effect to affect in the Soviet musical film. The camera positioning in *Kubanskiye Kazaki* certainly demonstrates this dual focus and in displaying the facial expressions of the on-screen listeners, the affective role of music is foregrounded.

The central characters in *Muzïkal'naya istoriya* are purposeful listeners – the central character Petya learns to sing through dedicated listening practices and hard work, becoming a successful opera singer, whilst his love interest Klava learns to listen purposefully, securing their future as a couple in the process. In contrast, during the variety sequence in *Kubanskiye Kazaki,* the audience members are either anonymous figures, with whom we are invited to identify through auditory alignment and a shared subjectivity, or the central characters who bicker amongst themselves and are far from attentive listeners. In other words, the on-screen listeners are not shown to be honing their aesthetic insight through their engagement with the music. Bearing in mind Stalin's refusal to include Balalaika music in the Stalin prize, this distinction reflects the understanding that artistic products of the national republics were not considered of the same artistic level as that of the Russian classics. It is the characters from Kuban who are shown to be in need of transformation through their purchasing of Soviet culture in the form of the piano.

An early sequence in *Tsirk* also shows listeners talking and critiquing a performance, rather than listening attentively. The American character Marion performs a solo act whilst the Soviet circus manager and star Soviet performer discuss her performance. With Marion as object of the gaze in the first instance, the focus on the

[344] Nisnevich, 'Listening to Muzykal'naia istoriia', pp. 193-211.

response of the characters demonstrates the appropriate response for the spectator. Whilst a later display of Soviet collectivity in the film needs no criticism, this performance is framed as a work-in-progress act that shows potential but needs to align itself with socialism.

Nisnevich claims that the Aleksandrov musical films of the 1930s privilege performance over listening[345] and it is true that listeners in these earlier films often listen in order to become performers – they are transformed from passive listeners into active participants in the Soviet community. For example, the final circus performance in *Tsirk* [*Circus,* 1936] shows on-screen listeners become active participants at the end. After a big reveal, in which Marion's illegitimate child is announced to the audience in an attempt by her old manager to dishonour her, members of the circus audience respond empathetically to Marion and pass the child around, singing a collective lullaby that signifies the role of community in protecting and nourishing children. The on-screen listeners here are anonymous; however, they become part of the narrative and join in the performance of community through the song.

Just prior to the reveal is the final collective Soviet circus act. The camera largely ignores the affective response of the anonymous audience at this point. This performance is introduced by direct address, as a character breaks the fourth wall to announce the act to the spectators. The following shots of the act include views from the audience, close-ups of the performers and bird's eye views of the act that could (at a push) be justified as shots from the top row of seats. In using anonymous on-screen listeners, the identification process is opened for the spectator, who can imagine that they are viewing the scene not from the perspective of any one particular character but alongside the anonymous listeners.

After the reveal, the background audience members start to participate in singing and holding Marion's child and the emphasis is placed on the community of active listeners (and performers) as a symbol of Soviet internationalism. This scene is demonstrative of a citizenship campaign encouraging those living in the Soviet Union to apply for Soviet citizenship. As such, this scene is heavy with contemporary political significance as the American Marion and her illegitimate black child are welcomed by the on-screen audience, acting as a stand-in for the national community. The difference,

[345] Nisnevich, 'Listening to Muzykal'naia istoriia,' p. 205.

therefore, between listening on-screen in the early Aleksandrov musicals has more to do with the meaning ascribed to listening practices. Whilst listening in *Tsirk* becomes an outward display and performance of community, the focus in *Muzïkal'naya istoriya* is on the individual process of transformation that was connected to notions of *Kulturnost'* and the ideal Soviet citizen.

Solitary listening practices in Soviet cinema are often linked with personal transformation but the privileged mode of on-screen listening is still collective. In *Muzïkal'naya istoriya* radio functions as a sonic bridge showing the romantic couple to be linked through their listening practices. In the opening sequence the dual focus narrative introduces the characters Petya and Klava as they simultaneously listen to a live performance of Bizet's *Carmen* in different locations. Whilst Petya listens to the opera live (in a collective setting), Klava is listening to the broadcast on the radio (in solitude). The couple at this point in the film are far from romantic contentment and it is only when Klava has learned to listen to music correctly (only after she is shown to be visibly moved by the music) that the couple can achieve success.[346] Near the end of the film there is another radio sequence in which Klava listens, only this time she recognises Petya's voice singing and rushes off to the venue to find him. The contrast between Klava's listening in the first radio sequence and this final one demonstrates an underlying tension over the position of radio in the musical landscape.[347] Once Klava has emerged as a purposeful listener, she recognises in the music the answer to her emotional happiness and abandons technology in favour of the live concert performance. Whilst technology is a mediator between characters in disparate locations, the preferred mode of musical engagement is a live concert setting.

This representation of radio also holds true for the opening sequence of *Svetlïy put'* [*The Radiant Path*, 1940].[348] Tanya (played by Lyubov Orlova) is shown listening to the radio at home in the countryside. The radio announcer calls out exercise instructions to the listeners over the music and Tanya clumsily follows along whilst carrying out her household duties, ingeniously managing to combine the exercise gestures with the movements needed to peel and cook potatoes. This on-screen act of listening works on

[346] Nisnevich, 'Listening to *Muzykal'naia Istoriia*,' pp. 204-205.
[347] See Stephen Lovell, *Russia in the Microphone Age: A History of Soviet Radio, 1919-1970*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[348] *Svetliy Put'* [*The Radiant Path*], d. Grigoriy Aleksandrov, s. Viktor Ardov, m. Isaak Dunayevskiy, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1940).

multiple levels. Tanya's comic movements signal her 'work-in-progress' status in relation to the disciplined Socialist body. In addition, her movements demonstrate very visibly the affective role of the sound as she moves in time with the music and the use of radio signifies her inclusion in an affective community in which the rest of the listeners also performing the exercises at the same time.

On the other hand, the radio's presence as mediator also underlines Tanya's separation from (and longing for) the city as her reliance on the technology is necessitated by her isolation. When Tanya decides to move to the city the use of radio becomes unnecessary. The song playing is the 'Song of the Motherland', which acts as an authorial signature through its intertextual link to the earlier collaboration between director Aleksandrov and composer Dunayevskiy but it also signifies a culture that is associated with the city (the song became the jingle for Radio Moscow). The film is a Soviet retelling of Cinderella and as the character becomes a public figure the scenes in which she appears in private lessen and her listening practices are no longer shown to be mediated through technology.

It is not only listening but performing that is best done collectively. Scenes of informal, communal music-making are common in the cinema of the Soviet Union. For example, in *Okraina* [*Outskirts/The Patriots*, 1933][349] there is a poignant scene in which two friends, having been separated by war, sing a popular wartime song together in a shared act of music making. The music represents a nostalgic longing for a time and place past as well as for the love of a woman; concerns so universal that they function on both levels. The dual focus of the lyrics speaks to both the personal and collective register. The presence of the orchestral accompaniment is legitimised by the shot of the wireless and the setting of the scene (inside the home) makes the men's sing-a-long seem natural.

During scenes of amateur performances, the distance between the producer and consumer of entertainment is blurred, as Feuer has noted in the Hollywood musical.[350] The amateur status of the performers gives the impression that they are ordinary people, such as those sitting in the cinema theatre watching the film. Whilst in the Third Reich characters in film were often professional musicians, the amateur performer is a more recognisable trope in Soviet filmmaking. Petya, the taxi driver opera singer, is one such

[349] *Okraina* [*Outskirts/The Patriots*], d. Boris Barnet, s. Boris Barnet, Konstantin Finn, m. Sergey Vasilenko, p.c. Mezhrabpomfil'm (USSR, 1933).
[350] Feuer, *The Hollywood Musical*, pp. 13-14

example. As an everyman figure, his rise to fame could provide the roadmap for other aspiring singers.

In *Tsirk* Marion learns to sing the 'Song of the Motherland' by listening closely and purposefully to Martïnov and singing back to him, in a similar manner to Petya. After a few lines she sits down at the piano and plays the song and accompaniment, spontaneously and with seemingly little effort, whilst adding her own individual expression through improvisation. The song, with its nationalist overtones, functions as an expression of the Soviet collective and in learning to perform it Marion undergoes a process of cultural assimilation to become part of the national community. The outburst of improvisation signifies her work-in-progress status – she is not fully assimilated at this point as she is still acting spontaneously and individually, rather than as a conscious Soviet member of the collective. The performative aspect of Soviet subjectivity here is clear and 'Sovietness' is presented as something you can learn, through purposeful listening. Music is used to reconcile Marion's foreignness with her desire to become Soviet.

Music as Reconciliation

As well as offering a space in which listening can be represented as fostering affective integration into the Soviet collective, sites of musical performance can also serve a reconciliatory function in terms of plot. In *Kubanskiye Kazaki* musical performance is shown to unite male and female into an explicitly Soviet community. We first hear the couple's love song when they are first reunited at the beginning of the film. A short motif enters as non-diegetic music at the moment when Gordei alludes to his feelings in a conversation with Galina. He rides off in frustration as he perceives his feelings to be unrequited when he does not receive his desired response. However, Galina takes up the music and begins to express her feelings through song. The song starts off as an expression of Galina's inner thoughts with lyrics such as 'You are still the same/ My brave Cossack' and 'Why did we meet again/ After all these years?/ Why did you break my heart again?' in reference to Gordei. However, after a couple of verses a chorus of female voices enter whilst the camera focuses on the passing river and steppes. The music provides continuity here but also links Galina's plight to nature. The female workers from Gordei's farm take up the song and the music moves from that of personal expression towards an expression of a seemingly universal female experience of love. The linking of Galina with

the female members of the rival farm shows a female community that is stronger than the local collective farm communities and gender appears to transcend farm loyalty.

This gendered community is mirrored in the competition between the two farms, providing a strong dual focus between male and female, only in this instance it is between two distinct groups of men and women and not just the central couple. The Cossack Gordei is chairman of the 'female' farm whilst Galina is the chairwomen of the rival 'male' farm. The plot predominantly follows the perspectives of Galina and the female characters in Gordei's farm, promoting the impression of a community of women, despite the rivalry between the farms. Gordei and Galina are old flames and the film follows the development of their relationship, which is initially hindered by Gordei's masculine pride and the competitive games the couple play with their farms. When a secondary couple is also formed, Gordei and Galina are forced to relax the social (and gender) boundary they have put up between the two farms, which in turn opens the way to their own romantic success. This bringing together of man and women is crucially also represented in the film's final song, which is performed collectively by members of both farms. The collaborative spirit established between the two farms at the end is reflected through this performance and unhealthy competition is replaced by collaborative working.

The secondary couple also serves a symbolic role, representing the assimilation of two local communities into the one national community. Towards the end, Gordei approaches the chairman of the board of directors, Denis Stepanovich, to complain that Galina is trying to steal his worker. Gordei claims the betrothed women as his own (he raised her) but Denis tricks him into admitting that he was raised by 'the party' and 'the people'. At this point Denis makes the point that the young couple are both children of the party and the people – they belong to the same community and not competing ones. Such familial symbolism is strong throughout the film, with Galina and Gordei acting as stand-in parents to their workers whilst the true parent figure in the film is the regime. This symbolic role is also true of the central couple but instead of operating through the dialogue of other characters, their romance is linked to the national project through their love song.

The community represented in *Kubanskiye Kazaki* is distinct from the image of the Soviet collective in the city. It is simultaneously 'other' and 'Soviet.' However, the film contains the traces of numerous trends in the depiction of on-screen listening and

moments of diegetic musical performances in Soviet cinema more broadly. Firstly, the agro-romantic setting coincides with a privileging of acoustic and collective musical performances, with the piano represented as the modern technology that could act as mediation between the city and the countryside, rather than the radio. Secondly, the concert sequence in the film borrows techniques developed in Aleksandrov's early films and later in wartime revue films that promote a pseudo-objectivity that highlights cinema's potential to transcend geographical separation and simulate the experience of attending a live concert through the combination of suture with cinema apparatus and the use of anonymous on-screen listeners.

Conclusion

A high-level analysis of scenes of diegetic musical performances and listening on-screen reveals that both the cinemas of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union utilised the potential that musical moments have to promote affective communities. In fostering a pseudo-objectivity or sense of 'liveness,' the films encourage the spectator to engage with these musical moments as collective experiences, drawing on the expectations of communal listening practices that spectators may have attached to live concert settings. Moreover, these on-screen communities take on national significance in the cinemas of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union through semiotic links to political concepts of the national community.

In *Wunschkonzert*, this community is linked to the *Volksgemeinschaft* through the use of Windt's *Olympic Fanfare.* With the romantic couple functioning as the telos of the film, the choice to use music that carries strong associations with the German nation through its use in Riefenstahl's film and its intertextual allusions to Wagner and Strauss links the characters to the national community. In their shared appreciation for Windt's score, the two listeners are represented as members of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, which is further articulated through the soldiers' mutual response to Herbert's 'song' request. Rather than the more overt links to the national political community, the love theme that links the central couple in *Kubanskiye Kazaki* is connected to a universal female experience and nature through the combination of music and visuals, drawing on the gender ideology underpinning the description of the country as 'Mother Russia'. It is the land and not a political spectacle or technology that unites the central characters in the film.

The focus on the 'liveness' of radio in *Wunschkonzert* also links the on-screen listeners together through the representation of a shared simultaneous affective experience that transcends geographical separation through modern technology. The doubling of intra and extra-fictional reality that is achieved through the use of real stars appearing as themselves and references to the real radio show works together with the aesthetics of pseudo-objectivity to promote the sequence as a mirror of contemporary reality (an extreme example of *Wirklichkeitsnähe*). The promotion of radio as a means of overcoming the geographical separation brought about by war serves as an ideological tool as it attempts to maintain support for the war by mitigating the negative impact and presenting war as a moral requirement.

However, many wartime films from the Soviet Union engage with similar ideologies surrounding the role of entertainment but take a different aesthetic approach. The films privilege a mode of pseudo-objectivity based on suture with the camera apparatus itself, as well as minimal narrative framing. In such instances, cinema itself was foregrounded as the technology that could overcome social separation. The effects of this approach can be traced in the concert sequence in *Kubanksiye Kazaki* in which the film positions itself as a mediator between the countryside and the city, although the use of diegetic audiences and a concert setting as well as the sequence's position within a fiction film share characteristics with the radio sequence in *Wunschkonzert*.

In the cinema of the Third Reich during the War, documentary footage was incorporated into fictional filmmaking, lending the fiction a pseudo-objectivity and deconstructing the films' fictional construction processes, giving the impression of direct rapport. This practice is an example of the *Wirklichkeitsnähe* promoted in the film press, which emphasised contemporary relevance for the spectator. The incorporation of documentary footage into fiction film was less prominent in the Soviet Union during the war. Whilst some earlier examples do exist that are similar to *Wunschkonzert*, such as the use of documentary footage for the revolution scenes in *Chelovek s Ruzh'yom* [*Man with a Gun*, 1938],[351] the use of documentary or pseudo-documentary footage that depicted contemporary reality was not used during the war, when citizens were experiencing the realities of the conflict on their doorstep.

[351] *Chelovek s Ruzh'yom* [*Man with a Gun*], d. Sergey Yutkevich, d. Nikolay Pogodin, m. Dmitriy Shostakovich, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1938).

Both case study films also contain sections that are set in collective pasts and are involved in one way or another in the construction of official national histories. *Wunschkonzert* represents, through layers of reception history, the 1936 Olympic games and *Kubanskiye Kazaki* is set in a non-descript Soviet rural 'past,' showcasing life in the countryside to cinema audiences across the Soviet Union. However, the manner in which these pasts are approached is different. *Wunschkonzert* accesses the shared past through the use of documentary footage, whilst the past represented in *Kubanskiye Kazaki* is a fictionalised one, in a context that many of the spectators would be unfamiliar with. It taps into a nostalgia for a rural past in which community plays a central role in the everyday lives of individuals.

In Nazi Germany, the folk musical was altogether less common. However, there were a number of films which are set in rural communities and have musical aspects. For example, *Am Abend auf der Heide* [*In the Evening on the Heath*, 1941][352] is about a popular composer who moves to the countryside after inheriting a farm, and *Die blonde Christl* [*Blonde Christl*, 1933][353] is a love story about Christl and a violinmaker's apprentice. These films are a precursor to the *Heimatfilm* genre that emerged after the war.

Both *Wunschkonzert* and *Kubanksiye Kazaki* reveal a city-centric notion of community. The inclusion of folk music in the variety concerts represents the acknowledgement of rural communities in the *Volksgemeinschaft* and the Soviet collective. In *Wunschkonzert* requests come in from Germans in many disparate locations and the show includes a comedy folksong about Bavaria. However, like the radio signal, which is coming from Berlin, the capital city is shown to be the centre of the community. In *Kubanskiye Kazaki* the dynamic is different as the concert sequence only contains music that is modelled on folk genres. However, the scene in the music shop acts as a contrast to the *narod* concert and makes clear the connection between the piano, modernity and the city. The project of *kultur'nost* required citizens to learn classic music repertoire that is associated with the city, and not folk culture. The piano in *Wunschkonzert*, in contrast, is represented as a symbol of an outdated mode of musical

[352] *Am Abend auf der Heide* [*In the Evening on the Heath*], d. Jürgen von Alten, s. Thea von Harbou, m. Edmund Nick and Eldo Di Lazarro (songs), p.c. Cine-Allianz Tonfilm Produktion GmbH (Germany, 1941).
[353] *Die blonde Christl* [*Blonde Christl*], d. Franz Seitz sen., s. Joseph Dalmann and Joe Stöckel, m. Toni Thoms, p.c. Tonfilm-Produktion Franz Seitz (Germany, 1933).

engagement, showing the removal of old technologies to make way for the new in the form of radio.

Multiple types of listening practices are shown in the cinemas of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, from solitary to collective and in concert and home settings. However, even similar listening practices can serve different functions in the film, whilst promoting specific ideologies. The solitary listening of the King in *Der große Konig* functions differently from Petya's solitary but purposeful listening in *Muzïkal'naya istoriya,* for example. Whilst musical engagement for the king is represented as internal retrospection, encouraging the spectator to identify with the king through metadiegetic music and auditory alignment, Petya's listening is linked with the individual process of becoming that was part of the New Man project in the Soviet Union.[354]

The position of the listener within the narrative also alters the function that they play. As both regimes emphasised the emotional potential of cinema, it is unsurprising to find frequent use of anonymous diegetic listeners as a means of guiding spectator response. Both *Wunschkonzert* and *Kubanskiye Kazaki* show the affective responses of anonymous audiences from the position of the stage. The 'sing-along' sequence in *Wunschkonzert* encourages and welcomes the spectators in the cinema to join in, becoming an active part of the performance, and the shot of the audience facing down the lens of the camera laughing in *Kubanskiye Kazaki* similarly demonstrates the desired affective response for the audience, influencing their own perception of the performance.

In the cinema of the Third Reich, the use of haptic images during scenes of on-screen listening in the films also contributes to the sequences' heightened emotional affect, encouraging bodily sensorial engagement with the film material. These haptic moments become privileged sites of affective and emotional engagement and the status of the scenes is raised, revealing their importance within the film as a whole. That such techniques of heightened emotional and sensorial affect are often used during scenes of on-screen listening (as well as for death scenes) imbues the act of listening with meaning that is linked by the visuals to the national community. As such, listening on-screen becomes a spectacle of national cohesion.

[354] Fritzsche and Hellbeck, 'The New Man in Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany,' pp. 302-341.

Chapter Three
Music in the Comedy Film

The production of comedy films in the Soviet Union was singled out as a top priority for the film industry in the 1930s but the question of what form such comedy should take was widely debated. Scholarship has thus far focussed on this debate[355] and on the ideological content of the comedy films produced.[356] However, little has been written that engages with theories of comedy and how humour is produced in the film.[357] The same can be said about the comedy film in the Third Reich, which has been discussed in terms of its content but rarely in terms of the comic devices employed.[358] This chapter will look at how music is used to comic effect in the films of the Soviet Union and the Third Reich, paying attention to questions of both content and form, demonstrating that in its reliance on subverting our cognitive expectations, humour draws attention to its own constructed nature, which yields similar results to the scenes of musical performances discussed in Chapter Two.

Humour and Community Construction

Humour plays a significant role in the creation of affective communities. It works on the level of shared expectations and experiences and getting a joke can bring to light the similarities in our thought processes, just as failing to find a joke funny can be alienating. Noël Carroll writes that:

> In order for comic amusement to take hold, it requires a background of shared presuppositions. First and foremost, these are shared presuppositions about norms (of intelligence, ethics, and even personal hygiene). When we laugh together, we are in effect acknowledging our membership in a community – a community bound together by the norms presumed by the humour at hand –

[355] See Salys, *The Musical Comedy Films of Grigorii Aleksandrov*, and Anna Toropova, '"If we cannot laugh like that, then how can we laugh?": The 'problem' of Stalinist film comedy,' *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema*, 5:3, (2012), pp. 335-351.
[356] See Salys, *The Musical Comedy Films of Grigorii* Aleksandrov; Peter Kupfer, '*Volga-Volga* "The Story of a Song," Vernacular Modernism, and the Realization of Soviet Music,' *The Journal of Musicology*, 30:4, (2013), pp. 530-576.
[357] My article on musical gags in the Aleksandrov musical comedy films draws on incongruity theory and was based on the Soviet case study in this chapter. See Lindsay Carter, 'Das Leben ist freudiger geworden: Musik und Komödie im stalinistischen Kino', Guido Heldt (trans.), in Guido Heldt, Tarek Krohn, Peter Moormann, Willem Strank (eds.), *Musik in der Filmkomödie*, (Munich: edition text + kritik, 2017), pp. 43-72.
[358] See Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich*.

> and, in fact, we are also simultaneously celebrating that community when we assemble for merriment. In this context, our converging laughter serves as a signal to each and all of us that we are bound together by shared assumptions.[359]

Carroll is a proponent of incongruity theory which explains humour as the result of the violation of our cognitive expectations. In our everyday life, we employ logic based on learned norms that helps us make sense of the world and reach conclusions quickly. To access this information, our knowledge is organised into schema which are then fired up when we encounter similar stimuli. Barry Wadsworth describes these schema as 'index cards' of sorts that tell us how to react to the incoming stimuli.[360] Humour occurs when these schemata misfire. Understanding the joke is to acknowledge these shared cognitive expectations (or in social terms, our shared norms). Of course, this creation of an *us* also brings with it an accompanying *other* and much humour serves a consolidatory social function – strengthening the sense of an affective community, whether you sit inside or outside the community.

In order for comic amusement to occur, our cognitive expectations must be subverted. In doing so, humour draws attention to itself through surprise – the spectator is drawn out of cognitive auto-pilot, so to speak. When this occurs whilst watching a film, the constructed nature of the narrative is foregrounded in a way that breaks down the film's reality effects, addressing the spectator in a more direct manner. As was the case with some of the examples in Chapter Two, this deconstruction helps to foster a sense of community – something which was particularly important in the cinema of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union.

Yet comedy could also be problematic in the context of the two case study cultures as they both attempted to manage spectator response to films and humour is highly subjective. Our norms and cognitive shortcuts are linked to our worldview, which is also linked with politics and ideology. Take, for example, our expectations attached to gender, class or race. Humour's reliance on a shared backdrop of social norms serves to either reinforce such norms or to propose alternative ones and to laugh at a joke is to acknowledge the existence of the norm which the joke subverts, even if the butt of the

[359] Carroll, *Humour: A Very Short Introduction*, p. 77.
[360] Barry J. Wadsworth, *Piaget's Theory of Cognitive and Affective Development: Foundations of Constructivism*, (London: Longman Publishing, 2004).

joke is the norm itself.[361] It is therefore difficult to determine when humour is subversive and when it is conformist. To laugh at a joke can either be to laugh at the norms and those who uphold them, or at the thing which steps outside of them. Or in other terms, when a character makes a joke it is often unclear whether we are laughing *with* them or *at* them, and two people with opposing beliefs can find the same joke funny whilst coming at it from two very different perspectives. This subjectivity is problematic in the context of political censorship, where one interpretation of a joke could lead to accusations of subversive humour and another could see the joke as compliant.

Despite the subjective nature of humour, the political attention awarded to comedy is not as surprising as it would at first appear. Having been exposed to comedy films in the 1920s, the filmgoing public in the Third Reich and the Soviet Union had demonstrated a taste for light-hearted comedies, in particular those of Charlie Chaplin. For industry professionals to succeed in their task of ideological transformation they would also need to create films that were accessible and popular.

The 'Problem' of Comedy in the Soviet Union

In the Soviet Union comedy as a genre was officially sanctioned on several occasions. Starting as early as 1928, the official resolution on cinema highlighted the need to 'pay special attention to the creation of Soviet comedy'.[362] For Boris Shumiatskiy at least, the importance of the genre was rooted in its affective power. In 1933 he wrote 'We need genres that are infused with optimism, with the mobilizing emotions, with cheerfulness, *joie-de-vivre* and laughter.'[363] However, there is a noticeable gap between theory and practice as very few successful comedy films were produced. Scriptwriter Natan Zarkhi reiterated the 1928 call to arms at the First Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934, asking:

[361] Carroll, *Humour: A Very Short Introduction*, p. 83.
[362] Cit. in Taylor and Christie (eds.), *The Film Factory.* p. 211.
[363] Boris Shumiatskiy, 'Tvorcheskie Zadachi Templana,' *Sovietskoe Kino*, 12 December (1933), p. 1, cit. in Kaganovsky, 'The Homogenous Thinking Subject', p. 284.

> Where is our satire? Mayakovsky's[364] brilliant satirical scripts have not yet been filmed and nobody is continuing his experiment, his traditions! Cinema does not have its own Ilf and Petrov,[365] its own Cine-Krokodil.[366]
>
> Where is our comedy? Soviet cinema is not made by *Jolly Fellows* or by the staging of the classics, just as our drama is not made by staging Balzac, Turgenev or Dickens.[367]

Zarkhi's words highlight both a drought in the production of Soviet comedy films in the 1930s and a binary between (political) satire and comedy. His words are part of a widespread debate over the definition of a specifically Soviet comedy across many major newspapers and periodicals in 1934 and 1935.

Much of this discourse was focussed on the tension between political humour and supposedly apolitical humour, such as that in *Vesyolïye Rebyata*, a comedy musical film directed by Grigoriy Aleksandrov and with music by Isaak Dunayevskiy. The film draws upon Hollywood slapstick and cartoon humour, making extensive use of sight gags and a careful synthesis of sound and movement.[368] Criticisms levelled at the film primarily focussed on its supposed lack of ideological content and its appropriation of Hollywood techniques.[369] However, the film was well received at the Kremlin screenings. Shumiatskiy's notes from the 21 July 1934 screening recall Stalin's response:

> Stalin, who had already seen the first two reels beforehand, explained to the comrades who had not seen them the course of the action, laughing out loud at the stunts. When the scene with the role-call started, he turned to Voroshilov[370] and said, 'It's well thought out. We try to be clever and look for something new in gloomy 're-enactments' (*vosstanovleniya*) and re-workings (*perekovki*). I am

[364] Vladimir Mayakovsky: poet, playwright, artist and actor.
[365] Ilya Ilf and Evgeny Petrov co-authored two popular satirical novels, *The Twelve Chairs* (1928) and *The Little Golden Calf* (1931). They would go on to write the original screenplay for Grigoriy Aleksandrov's musical film *Tsirk (Circus,* USSR, 1935) but after many alterations, the final film is very different to Ilf and Petrov's script. For an outline of these alterations see Salys, *The Musical Comedy Films of Grigorii Aleksandrov,* pp. 123-131.
[366] *Krokodil* was a satirical magazine published in the Soviet Union and founded in 1922. Much of its satire focused on the bureaucrat figure, capitalist countries and religious groups that were presented in opposition to the aims of the Soviet regime.
[367] 'Pervyi Vsesoyuznyi S'ezd Sovetskikh Piatelei 1934. Stenograficheskii Otchët.' (Moscow, 1934), p. 464-6. Adapted translation from Taylor and Christie (eds.), *The Film Factory,* p. 333. Taylor and Christie translate the film's title as *The Happy Guys*.
[368] Rimgalia Salys also notes the influence of slapstick and Walt Disney cartoons in Salys, *The Musical Comedy Films of Grigorii Aleksandrov,* p. 86.
[369] For an outline of the debate see Salys, *The Musical Comedy Films of Grigorii Aleksandrov,* p. 19-121.
[370] Kliment Voroshilov: People's Commissar for Military and Navy Affairs.

> not opposed to the artistic treatment of these problems. On the contrary. But do it in a way that is joyous, cheerful and happy.'
>
> When he saw the third reel – the scene with the animals – and the fourth reel – the music hall and the fifth reel – the fight scene – he laughed infectiously. At the end, he said, 'That was good. This film gives us the opportunity to relax in an interesting and enjoyable manner. It's the first time I've felt that after watching one of our films, even though some of them have been very good.[371]

The affective power of the film is once again highlighted, and Stalin uses this to support his opinion. In *Cinema for the Millions*, Boris Shumiatskiy would also defend *Vesyolïye Rebyata* by commending its optimism, joy, laughter and merriment.[372] Elsewhere in the book, he comments on what he describes as the joyful nature of Soviet laughter:

> The laughter of Gogol, Shchedrin and Chekhov is accusing laughter, laughter derived from bitterness and hatred… We believe that if Gogol, Shchedrin and Chekhov were alive today, their actual laughter would, in the Soviet Union, acquire joie de vivre, optimism and cheerfulness.[373]

For Shumiatskiy the laughter of a Soviet citizen should be of joy and happiness, mirroring Stalin's mantra: 'Life has become better, comrades; life has become more cheerful.'[374] However, despite this support, Aleksandrov did take the criticisms on board and his subsequent films attempted to build stronger ideological messages into his musical comedy films. In fact, 1934 appears to be the year of slapstick comedy films in the Soviet Union more generally with *Poruchik Kizhe* [*Lieutenant Kizhe*, 1934][375], *Marionetki* [*The Marrionettes*, 1934][376] and *Schastye* all produced that year. However, the eccentricity of slapstick humour would give way to a stronger focus on the romantic comedy towards the end of the decade, with the lyrical aspects taking a primary position over comedy.[377]

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[371] Boris Shumiatskiy, 'The Film Screening of 21 July 1934', cit. in Richard Taylor, 'On Stalin's Watch: the late-night Kremlin screenings: May to October 1934', *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema,* 7:2 (2013), p. 257.
[372] Boris Shumiatskiy, *Kinematografiya Millionov,* (Moscow: 1935) cit. in Taylor and Christie (eds.), *The Film* Factory, p. 367.
[373] Ibid.
[374] This slogan is adapted from a phrase of Stalin's speech in 1935 in which he said 'Everybody now says that the material situation of the toilers has considerably improved, that life has become better, more cheerful.' Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, p. 90.
[375] *Poruchik Kizhe* [*Lieutenant Kizhe*], d. Aleksandr Fayntsimmer, s. Yuriy Tïnyanov, m. Sergey Prokof'ev, p.c. Belgoskino (USSR, 1934).
[376] *Marionetki* [*Marionettes*], d. Yakov Protazanov and Porfiriy Podobed, s. Yakov Protazanov, m. Leonid Polovinkin, p.c. Mezhrabpomfil'm (USSR, 1934).
[377] Toropova, '"If we cannot laugh like that, then how can we laugh?"', p. 337.

Aleksandrov's musical comedy films moved increasingly closer to the Socialist Realist vision with each release, and it is very much through the films that Aleksandrov worked out ways in which to respond to the policy. The films can therefore be seen as a document of this process. In terms of the development of comedy in Soviet cinema, it is interesting to note that as the films drew closer to Socialist Realism, the comedic elements became increasingly limited. For Anna Toropova,

> The growing sense that eccentric comedies like *The Happy Guys* [*Jolly Fellows*] provoked the 'wrong' type of laughter, coupled with an increasing turn towards romantic comedies in which lyricism prevailed over comic attractions, was symptomatic of the difficulty of reconciling many established sources of comic pleasure with the principles of socialist realism.[378]

Despite the seal of approval from Stalin, concerns over the frivolity and apolitical nature of the comedy in *Jolly Fellows* led Aleksandrov to try strengthening the ideological messages of his later films.

I. Socialist Realism and Comedy: Unlikely Allies?

The combination of comedy and Socialist Realism proved difficult for reasons beyond the ambiguity of humour. Frivolity and humour hardly seem appropriate for the earnest task of ideological transformation. Moreover, the 'representation of reality in its revolutionary development'[379] called for artists to synthesise a 'truthful' representation of reality with the image of the Communist future, guiding the workers towards this ideal state. But when the task is to represent a perfect society, what is there to laugh at? In the 1930s, humor tended to focus on remnants of the old bourgeois society. However, by 1941 artists were required to show that the fairytale had become a reality and as such, it was even harder to find suitable subject matter for comedy. Aleksandrov himself stated in a meeting: 'When we make up lists now of people, employees at whom you can and can't laugh in comedy, few such people are left.'[380] Slapstick comedy and musical gags would appear to be relatively safe forms of humour, and perhaps it is for this reason that they form the basis of most of the comedy in Aleksandrov's musical films, but such humour

[378] ibid.
[379] Zhdanov, *Essays on Literature, Philosophy, and Music,* pp. 7-15.
[380] 'Stenogramma soveshchaniia v TsK VKP(b) pod predsedatel'stvom A.A. Zhdanova po voprosam khudozhestvennoi kinematografii' cit. in Salys, *The Musical Comedy Films of Grigorii Aleksandrov*, p. 294.

still relies on incongruity and discord, which is at odds with the principles of Socialist Realism.

Spontaneity and surprise are crucial aspects of humour but the politically aware Soviet body was one of harmony, discipline and control. As if in response to this issue, Aleksandrov stated in 1940 that comedy based on a conflict between man and his surroundings was impossible as the new Soviet man was in tune with his environment.[381] Concomitantly, if we look at the central characters in Aleksandrov's later films, their development from spontaneity to consciousness[382] is accompanied by a decline in their comic importance. The first time we are introduced to Tanya in *Svetlïy Put'*, for example, she performs a slapstick sequence, but as her character develops into a conscious Soviet citizen, Lyubov Orlova's movements and expressions become less exaggerated and her comic role gives way to lyricism. The only character to retain this comic function throughout the film is the fool Taldykin, whose sole purpose is to provide humour. His relentless pursuit of Tanya punctuates the narrative with moments of comic relief and his refusal to 'get the hint' is part of this comic characterisation. As the films get closer to a representation of the Soviet ideal, the central characters also become more serious and earnest.

In Aleksandrov's films *Tsirk (Circus,* USSR, 1935) and *Svetlïy Put'* the comedic elements are largely subordinate to the demands of the plot whereas in *Vesyolïye Rebyata* and *Volga-Volga* the comic elements play a more structural role. In his work on early sound film comedies and the Vaudeville aesthetic, Henry Jenkins describes films that are made up of comic performances hung together loosely by a plot as 'anarchistic' as they sacrifice narrative cohesion for play and tend to demonstrate the collapse of social order.[383] However, this view perpetuates the notion of narrative as control and spectacle as its opposite. Instead, by considering these moments of comic performance in terms of their affective power, the success of the two films is less surprising.

Aleksandrov's films can be roughly separated into two - the more serious ideological musical films such as *Tsirk* and *Svetlïy Put'* and the light comedy style of *Vesyolïye Rebyata* and *Volga-Volga* (the latter of which combines the slapstick humour of

[381] Salys, *The Musical Comedy Films of Grigorii Aleksandrov*, p. 295.
[382] Clark, *The Soviet Novel*.
[383] Henry Jenkins, *What Made Pistachio Nuts? Early Sound Comedy and the Vaudeville Aesthetics*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

Aleksandrov's first film with the ideological drive of his second). In an interview in 1937 composer Isaak Dunayevskiy remarked that:

> due to a directive from above, we are returning to the method of *Jolly Fellows*. You should know that the greatest and the most authoritative critic of our country has declared that he considers *Circus* a good film, but he also considers it a concession, a retreat. But he considers *Jolly Fellows* to be bold and demands that the jubilee film be written in this spirit, and so *Volga-Volga* will be an eccentric musical comedy.[384]

Bearing this 'directive from above' in mind, and due to the attention awarded these films both in primary and secondary literature, this chapter will focus on *Vesyolïye Rebyata* and *Volga-Volga* as one response to the official call for Soviet comedy films – a response that relies heavily on music for its comedy.

Case A: The 'Eccentric' Musical Comedy Films of Grigoriy Aleksandrov

Vesyolïye Rebyata is very much of its time – an experiment in harnessing the affective power of comedy through music. It tells the story of a shepherd called Kostya (played by the famous jazz musician Leonid Utesov). He travels to Moscow in pursuit of the bourgeois woman Yelena after an awkward dinner party in which she thinks he is the famous conductor Kostya Fraskini (that is, until his herd of animals burst in and his true identity is revealed). In Moscow he accidentally conducts a concert and is asked to direct a jazz band. The final scene is the grand performance of the band in the Bolshoi Theatre at which Kostya finally notices Yelena's maid Anyuta, his true love (played by Lyubov Orlova). The plot of this film is arguably weak, as it loosely ties together musical numbers and comic scenes in the style of a revue show, rather than serving as a central structure.

The plot in *Volga-Volga* is quite similar in subject matter – it shows the journey from countryside to city as the characters prepare for a big show in Moscow. However, the narrative drive is much stronger than in its predecessor. The ideological content which *Vesyolïye Rebyata* lacked is also present, combining the ideological aspect of *Tsirk* with the comedy of *Vesyolïye Rebyata* to create a specifically Soviet comedy film.[385] Like many Hollywood musical films, the plot focusses on the conflict between high-brow and popular music, reflecting debates surrounding the role of music in Soviet society. Alyosha

[384] *Stenogramma, doklad Dunayevskogo v Muzïkal'nom nauchno-isseldovatel'skom institute* (7 May, 1937) Peter Kupfer (trans.) cit. in Kupfer, *Music, Ideology and Entertainment,* p. 184.
[385] Kupfer also notes this, calling *Volga-Volga* a 'true *Soviet* musical *comedy*' in Kupfer, *Music, Ideology and Entertainment*, p. 237.

and his orchestra represent the high-brow camp whilst the letter carrier Strelka and her band of village folk represent the popular side. The bureaucrat Byvalov receives a telegram from Moscow asking him to send the best talent in his town to Moscow for the cultural olympiad. As Byvalov believes there to be no talent in the town, Alyosha and Strelka are faced with the task of convincing him otherwise whilst also convincing him that their ensemble (and style of music) is the best. Byvalov chooses Alyosha after Alyosha points out that they would need to be accompanied for their journey to Moscow, and Byvalov sees an opportunity for personal gain. However, as Strelka and her ensemble will not take no for an answer, they sail themselves to Moscow on a barge. Ultimately, Alyosha and Strelka's differences are resolved through a joint performance of Strelka's 'Song of the Volga.' The ideological content of the film concerns the anxieties and ambiguities surrounding a definition of socialist realist music in the 1930s.[386] Socialist realism could not be clearly defined with respect to music. There were key characteristics such as sophistication and comprehensibility (what these actually mean in practice is unclear and was probably unclear at the time) and as a result there was a drive to synthesise the accessibility of popular art with the sophistication of high-art. The final scene in *Volga-Volga* represents this hybridity.

Much of the comedy in the two films is heavily reminiscent of cartoon humour. Rimgalia Salys, amongst others, has specifically noted the influence of Walt Disney's animation on the films of Grigoriy Aleksandrov.[387] Aleksandrov, Eyzenshteyn and Tisse had visited Walt Disney studios in 1930, and Aleksandrov took particular interest in the synthesis between sound and movement in the cartoons. He wrote: 'The Disney method of filming was of great interest to us. The famous cartoonist began with the phonogram. The carefully prepared phonogram became, as it were, the carcass of the film.'[388] There are a number of animated episodes in each of Aleksandrov's films. *Vesyolïye Rebyata*, for example, uses animation for the opening credits, which show that Charlie Chaplin, Buster Keaton and Harold Lloyd will *not* be appearing in the film – a defensive move that interestingly foreshadows the criticisms levelled at the film. Maria, an animated cow, is

[386] For more on this, see Peter Kupfer, '*Volga-Volga* "The Story of a Song,"' pp. 530-576.
[387] Salys, *The Musical Comedy Films of Grigorii Aleksandrov,* p.86.
[388] Grigoriy Aleksandrov, *Epokha i kino*, p. 131, Rimgaila Salys (trans.), in Salys, *The Musical Comedy Films of Grigorii Aleksandrov.* p. 86.

also introduced as a star, which is designed to be incongruous with the audience's expectations of what constitutes a star actor [Figure 3.1.].

However, it is in the synthesis between sound and movement that the influence of Disney's animation can be felt most strongly. The relationship between music and image, between music and narrative and between music and class are all key sources for much of the humour in the two films. Everyday objects serve as musical instruments, music interferes with the narrative in humorous way, and classical music is juxtaposed with images of the mundane or vulgar. In fact, within *Vesyolïye Rebyata* and *Volga-Volga* jokes that do not either use music or are about music are rare.

Figure 3.1. Opening Credits. The text reads: 'Charlie Chaplin', 'Are not appearing in the film' and 'Jolly Fellows'.

I. Sight and Sound Gags

In his rough taxonomy of sight gags, Noël Carroll defines such a gag as 'a form of visual humour in which amusement is generated by the play of alternative interpretations projected by the image or image series.'[389] Carroll then goes on to qualify that 'sight gags, although they are regarded as the hallmark of the silent comedy, can occur in films that are neither silent nor comic.'[390] Sight gags, in the various forms which Carroll outlines, also often include and rely on sound for their comic effect – a point which Carroll does not mention – and even some silent sight gags rely on an imagined sound for their comic effect. In the following section, I will apply Carroll's taxonomy of sight gags to instances in which alternative interpretations of what we see and *hear* produce comic effect.

Perhaps the most common forms of gag employed across Aleksandrov's slapstick comedies are the mimed metaphor and the object analogue.[391] These are instances in

[389] Noël Carroll, 'Notes on the Sight Gag,' in Noël Carroll, *Theorizing the Moving Image*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). p. 146.
[390] Ibid.
[391] This technique is used most frequently in *Vesyolïye Rebyata* where it forms the central mode of humour. The techniques used in *Volga-Volga* are altogether more varied.

which two disparate objects are equated with one another. The two categories are very similar, the only difference being that the mimed metaphor requires mime to function. The gesticulations of a character invites the spectator to interpret objects differently, as the function of one object is switched for another.[392] When these objects are musical instruments, or are everyday objects given a musical function, then sound too can be used to add to the effect. A character tapping a bottle as if it were a percussion instrument would not necessarily imply a change in the function of the bottle unless we hear the sound it produces. Most of the gags present in *Vesyolïye Rebyata* and many of those in *Volga-Volga* are examples of the mimed metaphor or the object analogue. In particular, everyday objects serve as musical instruments, and animals and humans switch roles. These audio-visual gags punctuate the film with humour, whilst also satirising the nature of music in sound films. We are used to hearing music in film, but not necessarily seeing its source. Of course, sound film was still relatively young when the film was made and there had been a lot of discussion about the negative impact of sound on the art of film.[393] It is possible that some of these comedic elements refer to the debate, making fun out of the proponents of realism. The audio and visual aspects are recorded separately and then placed together, allowing for interesting and amusing combinations. When considering the words of the central 'March of the Enthusiasts' (the song that Kostya sings in the opening scene), 'whoever goes through life with a song/Will never go astray,'[394] these moments of musical metaphor take on another meaning - that life (at least in the Soviet Union) is inherently musical.

Figure 3.2. Kostya plays a bridge, fence and pots as musical instruments.

The opening scene from *Vesyolïye Rebyata* clearly demonstrates this form of audio-visual gag. The shepherd Kostya is leading a group of people through the village

[392] Carroll, 'Notes on the Sight Gag,' p. 150.
[393] See Chapter One for information on the lack of sound film technology.
[394] For the ideological implications behind this see Kupfer, *Music, Ideology and Entertainment.*

whilst singing and playing a folk instrument similar to the recorder.[395] Sight and sound are incongruous in this scene as the non-diegetic jazz music does not match that of the instruments shown on screen.[396] As Kostya and his merry followers march along to one of the central songs the 'March of the Enthusiasts', the shepherd periodically plays nearby objects as if they were percussion instruments – first a bridge, then a fence, then some pots and finally another wooden bridge with horizontal planks, which he dances on as if it were a xylophone [Figure 3.2.]. These objects take on an alternative function as musical instruments through the gesticulations of the character.

However, not only is there an incongruity between the function of a bridge and its use in this instance, but also an incongruity between what is heard and what is seen. The audience recognises the non-diegetic orchestral track as being produced by an orchestra off-screen, whilst the visuals show the percussion sounds to be produced from within the diegetic world and on everyday objects. The fact that these objects appear to be in tune with the music only adds to the amusement as the alternative interpretation of the objects works surprisingly well. In fact, this detail is essential to the success of such gags.

As previously mentioned, this technique is also used (to a lesser extent) in *Volga-Volga*. Whilst Alyosha's orchestra rehearse on the way to Moscow, Stelka's ensemble play music whilst they work. A number of non-musical objects are used to produce sounds that are miraculously in tune with the song. The lumberjack plays the saw, for instance, and the waiter plays a collection of bottles that have been tied to a rope ladder [Figure 3.3.]. In order for the bottles to take on the function of a musical instrument, the actions need to be accompanied by sound. Otherwise, the waiter could just be hitting some bottles. Whilst admittedly their position on the ladder implies their rising tones so that even if no actual sound is heard, there would be an *imagined* sound which confirms the musical function of the bottles, the inclusion of sound strengthens the metaphor whilst also adding to the comic effect by the fact that the tones produced are in tune with the accompanying music.

[395] Kupfer identifies this instrument as the *svirel'* in Kupfer, *Music, Ideology and Entertainment.* p. 76.
[396] See also Kupfer, *Music, Ideology and Entertainment*, p. 74-76. Kupfer notes this incongruity but does not discuss this from the perspective of humour.

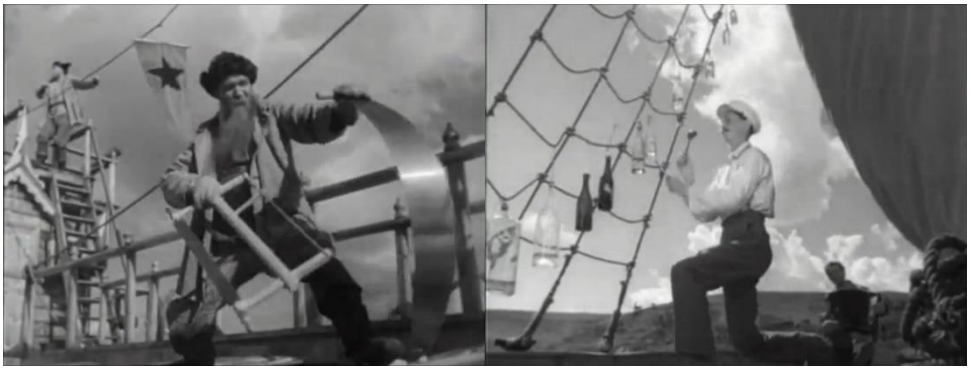

Figure 3.3. The lumberjack plays the saw and the waiter plays some bottles.

Many of these musical metaphor gags are not entirely reliant on sound for them to function, but it does add an extra level of incongruity. Georges Méliès, an early pioneer of visual tricks, made a number of short films that use mimed metaphors to play around with conceptions of musical production. In *Le Mélomane* [*The Melomaniac/The Music Lover*, 1903][397], Méliès shows a band leader using his own head to notate music. He walks underneath a set of telegraph poles and throws his head up to form a musical note. His head reappears on his shoulders and he repeats the action for the rest of the notes. The band marches in from the right-hand side of the screen and throw up tails for the notes. The ensemble then attempts to play the music and they all skip off the screen to the imagined music. Similarly, in *Vesyolïye Rebyata* we see Kostya play a violin whilst looking up at a set of telegraph wires with birds perched on them [Figure 3.4.]. When the birds fly away he abruptly stops playing, and in answer to the question of why, he responds: 'my notes have flown away!' This unusual visualisation of music is amusing as it subverts our normal cognitive understanding of musical notation. The notes cannot suddenly fly away half-way through a piece. This synchronicity of discordant elements amuses us. The similarities between *Le Mélomane* and this scene in *Vesyolïye Rebyata* is clear, but Aleksandrov's version uses sound to add to the effect. The sound we hear is that of a violin, in accordance with the on-screen source, but the notes that Kostya is playing (the birds on the telegraph poles) are not the same as those that the audience hears. They do, however, vaguely resemble the score with their descending movement, and as the last bird flutters before flying away, Kostya plays a trill on the violin. It is likely that this slight incongruity between the notes played and those shown by the birds was not meant to be

[397] *Le Mélomane* [*The Melomaniac/The Music Lover*], d. Georges Méliès, s. Georges Méliès, p.c. Star Film Company (USA, 1903).

noticed, especially as the trill at the end is carefully and comically demonstrated by the birds.

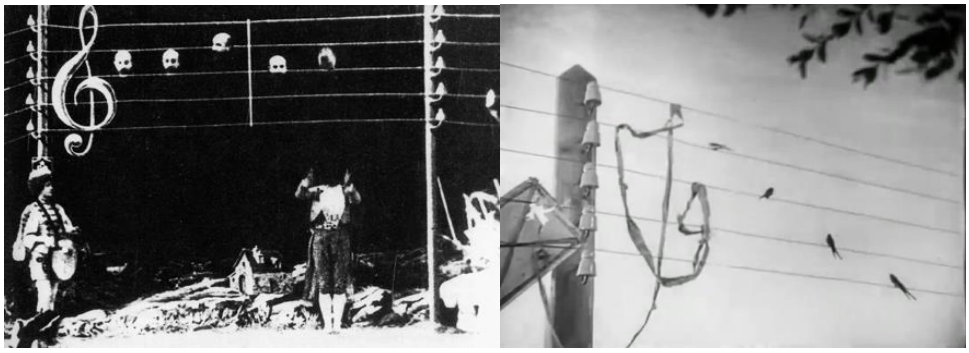

Figure 3.4. *Le Mélomane* and the scene in which Kostya plays the notes on the telegraph poles in *Vesyolïye Rebyata.*

Turning the use of everyday objects as musical instruments on its head, a brawl scene in *Volga-Volga* sees musical instruments interpreted as weapons. The violin bow becomes a lance for fencing, the double bass becomes a bow and arrow, and a musician hits the piano keys with another man's head. Each movement is reflected in the music in true cartoon style and, again, the slapstick movements are in tune with the background jazz music. The musicians end up so entangled with their weapons that the line between man and instrument are blurred, allowing for a comic anthropomorphisation of musical instruments. Once again revealing the strong influence of Walt Disney's humour on the films, the anthropomorphisation of animals was also frequently employed as a comic device. *Vesyolïye Rebyata,* in particular, frequently shows animals behaving like humans and humans behaving like animals.

The mutual interference gag is also used frequently in Aleksandrov's slapstick works. Carroll defines the mutual interference gag as the situation in which 'an event, under one description, can be seen as two or more distinct, and perhaps in some sense mutually exclusive, series of events that interpenetrate each other.'[398] In *Vesyolïye Rebyata*, Kostya mistakenly ends up on the podium of a Moscow music hall, and on seeing Yelena in the audience he gestures towards her in an attempt to get her attention. The orchestra mistake his movements to be their cue to start playing Lizst's *Hungarian Rhapsody*, and Kostya continues to conduct the orchestra through his gestures to Yelena [Figure 3.5.].

[398] Carroll, 'Notes on the Sight Gag,' p. 148

Figure 3.5. Kostya accidentally conducts an orchestra.

The orchestra believe him to be conducting the performance, whilst Kostya himself is unaware of the large group of musicians on the stage, as he is busy trying to win Yelena's affection. The performance is a huge success, as Kostya accidentally conducts very well, and the successful existence of two incongruous interpretations of the same events is amusing to the viewer. Rimgaila Salys observes a link between this scene and the 1935 Mickey Mouse short, *The Band Concert* (USA, 1935),[399] in which Mickey conducts a performance of Rossini's *William Tell Overture* whilst attempting to fend off Donald Duck, who is trying to sabotage it. In such instances, the spectator is privy to more information than any one character in the film – a comic form of dramatic irony – and the affective power of such scenes rests in this *difference* between the experience of the characters and the audience, in contrast to the understanding of performances as affective due to a sense of a shared subjectivity between character and spectator.

II. Musical Interference

Whilst sight (and sound) gags form the basis of much of the humour in *Vesyolïye Rebyata* the humour in *Volga-Volga* is more varied. Another common form of audio-visual joke used in the film is what I will refer to as musical interference – music which repeatedly interferes with the narrative in a self-conscious manner, playing games with both the audience and the characters in the film. This comedic function of music in the film is made clear from the very beginning with the prologue music. The prologue, which is a sung introduction to the characters and actors appearing in the film, includes the line 'we won't keep you long' and 'we will present', which are ironically underscored by a pause for the first phrase and then a 6-5 suspension for the second. The incongruity between words and music is comical, and the music unexpectedly and self-consciously interferes with the flow of the film. The audience is aware that the music is playing games with them. Peter Anthony Kupfer also notes this irony between musical composition and the text,

[399] Salys, *The Musical Comedy Films of Grigorii Aleksandrov*, p. 87.

concluding that 'the opening sequence returns us in many ways to the more slapstick comedic world of *Jolly Fellows*.'[400] Whilst this is true, I believe that it does more than just this. It also highlights the independent role of music in the film in which music, as a separate entity, almost acts as a character in and of itself.

Throughout the film, there are many examples of long sequences in which music interferes with the narrative. The first twenty minutes, for example, could be read as an extended joke with overarching continuity and jab lines along the way (although the joke is broken up by scenes of Strelka and Alyosha). According to Salvatore Attardo, who invented the term, jab lines differ from punch lines as they are integrated into the narrative and can occur throughout the joke and not exclusively at the end.[401] Byvalov (the bureaucrat) is waiting impatiently for a telegraph from Moscow, whilst Stelka (the letter carrier) is stranded on the ferry. In Byvalov's office, his assistant is sympathising with his frustration and flattering his ego whilst citizens repeatedly burst through the door with their personal problems and news - one lady states 'I'm getting married!', to which Byvalov's assistant simply shouts 'No!'. A balalaika player enters Byvalov's office to complain about the sound his instrument is producing. Byvalov tries to lay fault with the player rather than the instrument, at which point the man comically demonstrates that he has been playing for years by spinning the instrument around in the air whilst his friend produces music behind him. These comic interruptions, or jab lines, serve as relief points in the build-up of tension, whilst also undermining Byvalov's frustration and interfering with the narrative (crucially not interrupting it completely). The film and its music is playing games with the bureaucrat character and through that also with the audience.

The musical sequence starts when Byvalov eventually gets into a cart to travel down to the river and we first hear the non-diegetic accompaniment to the waterman's song. The music itself undermines the seriousness of Byvalov's frustration with its oom-pah brass ostinato figure and jovial oboe riff. The tempo is far from quick and it plods along merrily, in no hurry to reach a cadence. When the horse stops at a store because it wants some bread and salt, the waterman (who is driving the cart) starts to sing a silly song. Here the music is employed as a comedic interruption to the narrative tension. The

[400] Kupfer, *Music, Ideology and Entertainment,* p. 192.
[401] Salvatore Attardo, *Humorous Texts: A Semantic and Pragmatic Analysis*, (Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2001). p. 82.

central line ‘without water everywhere, you get neither here nor there’ is humorously ironic, given that the letter carrier is stranded on the water at this point and the waterman himself is ensuring that both Byvalov and the narrative get nowhere. The music forces us to put the narrative on hold. The transition into song is decidedly self-conscious. The waterman clumsily moves in time to the oom-pah tuba, and as he walks towards the house, he turns to face the camera and proceeds to sing directly to the audience. This gesture invites the audience in on the joke. Rather than transcending diegetic space and time, which is common in Hollywood musical films, we are made acutely aware of how long this song is taking. The camera repeatedly cuts to Byvalov waiting impatiently in the cart for the waterman to hurry up and finish his song so that he can get to the river. As such, the song can be read as a self-parody of the developing genre of the film musical. The waterman goes indoors, and instead of coming out with bread and salt for the horse (as the narrative and diegetic framing would have us expect) he emerges out of the door with a trombone. These two elements are incongruous – logic tells us that a trombone will not help Byvalov get to the river. In addition, the unexpected visual reveal of an instrument we previously understand as non-diegetic highlights the absurdity of orchestral accompaniment to song in musical films. It is impossible for characters in a musical film to be accompanied by a full orchestra wherever they go and yet we accept the combination of diegetic song and non-diegetic orchestra. The waterman plays a brief trombone melody whilst bending his knees and kicking out his legs before retreating into the store (presumably to get bread and salt this time). In order to prolong the joke (and the song), the waterman instead pops up at the window and plays the trombone out of it. Throughout the song the waterman pops in and out of the building, teasing Byvalov who just wants him to hurry up and each time he emerges it is holding a different object or in a different location [Figure 3.6.].

Figure 3.6. The waterman sings a song whilst Byvalov waits impatiently.

This is not the only nor the most important scene in which music interferes with the narrative flow in this manner. Later Strelka and Alyosha try to convince Byvalov to take their ensembles to Moscow for the Olympiad by demonstrating the various talents of the townsfolk as he innocently tries to get dinner at a restaurant. The waiter sings the menu to him in the form of an operatic aria, the cooks sing the film's prelude music as a quartet, the yard-keeper dances to accordion folk music, the fire brigade play the Allegro from Rossini's *William Tell Overture* and so on. Byvalov is literally trapped by the music as he attempts to push aside the players and escape. He grows increasingly frustrated as the musical montage builds in intensity. Here, again, music interferes with the narrative and forces Byvalov to listen, much like the film's audience is forced to listen to the music in the cinema, as they do not have a fast-forward option. The combination of high-art and the mundane in this scene (see, for instance, the waiter's menu aria) brings us neatly on to the next prominent feature of the use of music in these films – a musical bathos.

III. Musical Bathos

Salys notes that in his memoirs Aleksandrov writes about Disney's use of classical music for comic effect.[402] Much of Disney's humour is derived from the incongruity between high-brow art and mundane activities - a variation on bathos, in which a lofty style or idea is instantly undermined by the trivial or vulgar.[403] The previously mentioned scene, in which Kostya comically conducts Liszt's *Second Hungarian Rhapsody* through dramatic gestures to Yelena, is one such example. Another example – although one in which music is not played but referred to verbally – occurs during an argument over which ensemble should be allowed to go to the Olympiad. Alyosha states that his orchestra would be bringing Beethoven, Mozart, Schubert and Wagner to Moscow and asks what Strelka's ensemble would bring. She replies with 'Aunt Pasha and Uncle Kuzya'. Alyosha sneers and Strelka defiantly states that Beethoven, too, was probably an uncle to someone. Alyosha then cries out 'Beethoven! An uncle?!' with sheer contempt, as if the idea was sacrilege! Much of the humour is derived from the instant deflation of Alyosha's lofty views on music. In addition, many viewers would have known a little bit about Beethoven's biography and may also have thought about the fact that his relationship with his nephew was an important aspect of his life – he was very much an uncle to someone. During another scene, Alyosha tries to convince Strelka that classical music is superior by playing

[402] Salys, *The Musical Comedy Films of Grigorii Aleksandrov,* p. 87.
[403] Andrew Stott, *Comedy (The New Critical Idiom),* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 55

her a fragment of 'Isolde's Death' from Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. He pulls out the score from a bucket and begins to play a dull phrase which consists of low alternating pitches and a 47-bar rest. Kupfner notes that Alyosha's rendition maintains very little of the actual Tuba part to Wagner's opera.[404] After he is finished, he looks to Alyosha for her opinion and she sarcastically yawns and says 'she dies too slowly', undermining the sentimentality of the death scene.

The use of bathos extends to bourgeois characters in the films, especially Yelena in *Vesyolïye Rebyata.* Much of the humour in both *Vesyolïye Rebyata* and *Volga-Volga* plays around with musical expectations in relation to class expectations. Yelena, the bourgeois lady with whom Kostya is originally (and foolishly) infatuated, holds grand ideas about her own musical 'talent', but it is quickly revealed that she is a dreadful singer, whilst her maid Anyuta is, in fact, very talented. Equally, Strelka's ensemble in *Volga-Volga* are shown to be natural musicians, playing music together with whatever objects they can find, whilst Alyosha's orchestra slave away in rehearsals. The ideological message of such scenes reads that anyone can be an exceptional musician, regardless of class (unless you are a member of the bourgeoisie). In *Volga-Volga*, the scene in which Arrow attempts to convince Byvalov that the villagers are talented by listing some examples plays with class expectations, as they relate to high-art. She tells Byvalov about uncle Kuzya's niece who can sing Tat'yana's aria from Chaykovskiy's *Yevgeniy Onegin* and proceeds to demonstrate by singing the aria herself. The audience is fully aware of the situation – Arrow is obviously very talented herself at the very least – but Byvalov comically misses this and states 'no-one here can sing that well' and 'it takes twenty years to learn to sing link that'. Byvalov appears to completely miss the irony of his own words. This is another example of mutual interference, where we, the audience, understand the situation clearly, but the character comically misreads it. What is amusing here is Byvalov's failure to respond logically to the situation. The audience is not assumed to share his expectations with regards to music and class, but rather to find his prejudices amusing.

The 'eccentric' comedies of Grigoriy Aleksandrov stick closely to the politically 'safe' forms of comedy that rely heavily on the interaction between audio and visuals and in doing so, they draw attention to the constructed nature of the films. 'Sight gags' playfully subvert our understanding of objects and their associative functions, and gags

[404] Kupfer, *Music, Ideology and Entertainment*, p. 196.

based on an incongruity between sound and its source draw attention to film scoring practices by virtue of turning these practices on their head. Musical interference jokes also play with the viewer's expectations of narrative flow by subverting the image-music hierarchy and allowing the music to determine the rhythm and pace of the scene. However, this humour was criticised for not being political enough and as Aleksandrov increased the ideological element in his films and strengthened the plot, the comic elements necessarily fell by the wayside as the politically 'conscious' Soviet citizen was in tune with their surroundings and not allowed to act spontaneously – a trait that is key to comic characterisation. Whilst the regime officially called for the creation of Soviet comedy films, it was very difficult to create such a film in practice as the requirement to depict a perfect society left little to laugh at.

The Crackdown on Political Comedy in Nazi Germany

In the Third Reich there was also a need to create politically 'safe' forms of humour. The Third Reich inherited a strong film culture from the Weimar Republic that was associated with a tradition of satire, farce and social critique. This would become the 'other' against which 'acceptable' comedy would be positioned. Cabaret acts, satirists and comedians were attacked throughout the 1930s for their 'political comedy' and humour that was deemed critical of the regime or its social values was explicitly coded as 'Jewish'. For example, on 30 January 1939, Hitler is said to have told Goebbels that it was necessary to 'crack down hard on political jokes.'[405] In response, Goebbels targeted the Berlin Kabarett der Komiker [Comedians' Cabaret] for its current show, banning all of the artists involved from the Reichskulturkammer. In a subsequent article in *Völkischer Beobacher* entitled 'Have We Still Got Humour?' he declared that political humour was a product of the Jews.[406]

The attack on political humour was not just a reaction against the supposed 'degenerate' aspects of Weimar culture, it is also linked to the ban on criticism - political comedy is, after all, another form of critical engagement.[407] On 9 August 1938, the director-general of the Reichsrundfunkgesellschaft [German Broadcasting Company] highlighted this critical aspect. A report from the National Zeitung describes his speech:

[405] See diary entry for 30 January 1939, cit. in Peter Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, (London: Vintage, 2016), p. 407.
[406] ibid., p. 407.
[407] ibid., p. 695.

> Reich Superintendent Glasmeier sharply opposed the reinfiltration by way of the "humourous" sketch, of the destructive Jewish spirit into the radio broadcasting system. We cannot have a situation in which the leaders of the movement extol the sanctity of marriage and the ethos of the German soldier, who must risk his life and blood for the Fatherland, while in the evening these very values are insulted and ridiculed in "colourful" entertainment sketches with the corroding sarcasm of so-called variety programs. (Loud applause.)[408]

His words refer to the subversive, or 'destructive', potential of humour and code this as 'other' to the German nation. This was the context in which live comedians performed stand-up comedy and sketches, which does not mirror that of the comedy film, as film was afforded a privileged position within the cultural landscape of Nazi Germany. However, it is clear that for a comedy film to pass the censorship process it was to be free from humour that could be interpreted as social critique.

Despite the aversion to social critique and problems of interpretation, the production of film comedies remained high in the Third Reich. With the importance placed on entertainment films, the film comedy would constitute a large proportion of these 'escapist' productions. In fact, in 1936 the comedy film starring Heinz Rühmann *Wenn wir alle Engel wären* [*If We Were All Angels*, 1936][409] received the accolade *staatspolitisch und künstlerisch wertvoll* [politically and artistically valuable]. At the time, Walter Panofsky attributed this success to its affective power. Writing in the *Film-Kurier,* he stated that the film 'received the designation politically and artistically valuable on the explicit grounds that it transmits two hours of genuine cheerfulness and joie de vivre to spectators in this serious and work-filled era.'[410] The value placed on the affective register is mirrored in the aforementioned article by Goebbels 'Have We Still Got Humour?', in which he answers the titular question with the claim that they only had 'grim' humour – the wrong sort.[411] Both statements make it clear that comedy was to be cheerful. Laura Heins' claim that melodrama films were problematic because emotion could lead to the

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[408] 'Fundamental Features of Radio Programming', *National Zeitung,* August 10 (1938), cit. in George L. Mosse, *Nazi Culture: Intellectual, Cultural and Social Life in the Third Reich,* (Wisconsin, MA: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), p. 193.
[409] *Wenn wir alle Engel wären* [I*f We Were All Angels*], d. Carl Froelich, s. Heinrich Spoerl, m. Hansom Milde-Meißner, p. Carl Froelich, p.c. Froelich-Film GmbH (Germany, 1936).
[410] Walter Panofsky 'Was will das Publikum auf der Leinwand sehen? Die einen wünschen lebenswahre Stoffe, die anderen den Sprung aus der Alltäglichkeit.' *Film-Kurier.* September 24, 1938, cit. in Heins, *The Nazi Melodrama Film*, p. 101.
[411] Diary entry for 5 Feb 1939. Joseph Goebbels, *The Goebbels Diaries, 1939-1941*, Fred Taylor (ed.), (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 9.

wrong conclusion, whereas comedy 'was particularly based upon dialogue in the Third Reich, and thus was presumably easier to control at the script stage'[412] is a simplification as it ignores the affective role of humour as well as the performative aspects. Irony, in particular, relies on expression in order to function.

In terms of content, Heins notes that the key to the success of *Wenn wir alle Engel wären* was its comic treatment of marital difficulties.[413] Observational humour based on marital strife is common in the films from this decade. The romantic comedy, along with a prioritising of lyricism over comic ingenuity, took the plot of the Weimar comedies and replaced their play on mistaken identities with more conventional gender norms. Or, as Sabine Hake writes, 'After 1933, obligatory cheerfulness and crude sexual humour took the place of subtle innuendoes and double entendres. Visual, acoustic, and linguistic wit was abandoned in favour of conventional dramatic effects, and the provocative play with identities gave way to highly normative definitions of gender and race.'[414] Also evoking the impression of a 'taming down' or 'whitewashing' of comedy in the Third Reich, Karsten Witte notes the removal of eroticism from the comedy films.[415]

Whilst the creation of comedy films was not singled out as top priority for the film industry, as was the case in the Soviet Union, the emphasis placed on the importance of the entertainment film and on market criteria translated into the continued production of comedy films and the selection of a comedy film in 1936 for praise confirmed a model for filmmakers to emulate. The musical comedy film provided one such response to this need for entertainment films that would attempt to transmit cheerfulness through the use of music and humour.

Case B: The Third Reich – *Viktor und Viktoria, Wir machen Musik*

The number one box-office hit of 1933 was Reinhold Schünzel's *Viktor und Viktoria*[416], a film that is often considered by scholars to be one of the last films produced in the

[412] Heins. *Nazi Film Melodrama*, p. 23
[413] ibid. p. 101.
[414] Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich,* pp. 23-24.
[415] Karsten Witte, *Lachende Erben, Toller Tag: Filmkomödie im Dritten Reich*, (Berlin: Verlag Vorwerk 8, 1995), p.123.
[416] David Stuart Hull, *Film in the Third Reich, Art and Propaganda in Nazi Germany* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1969), p. 41.

characteristic Weimar style.[417] Like *Vesyolïye Rebyata* it is very much of its time and would not have been produced even a few years later, despite the fact that Schünzel, who was labelled a 'half-Jew' by Goebbels, was allowed to continue making films in the Third Reich due to the popularity of films that he starred in or directed. That is until 1937, when his film *Land der Liebe* [*Land of Love*, 1937] was attacked. Of the later film, Goebbels wrote in his diary, 'A typical Jewish concoction. Totally Unbearable.'[418] The temporary permission that he received at first (a permission that would see him rejected by the exile community in America as an opportunist) had ended and Schünzel emigrated.

Labelled the German Chaplin by Thomas Elsaesser,[419] much of Schünzel's comic acting style rested on the incongruity between himself and the society he inhibited – in other words, his 'outsider' status. For Sabine Hake, this 'outsider' status is most strongly articulated in *Viktor und Viktoria* through the effeminate male figure Viktor. The film contains cross-dressing and drag, which for Hake acts as a stand-in for a broader notion of performativity as a defence mechanism for those living in the shadow of their 'outsider' status. She argues that societal tensions, including those of race, are displaced onto gender both in this film and in other successful comedy films in the Third Reich.[420] When viewed in isolation of its historical context, as well as the film's position within Schünzel's oeuvre, it can be read as a typical white-collar comedy film that relies on mistaken identities and dramatic irony for much of its humour, which is ultimately gender conformist. The film's comedy status allows the play with gender to be held at arm's length and be read merely as a comic device. This picture is complicated, however, when the film is read in light of some of the characteristics of humour that were coded as 'Jewish', such as ironic detachment and farce.

Viktor und Viktoria's use of music adds to the tone of ironic detachment and self-reflexivity that Hake and others have noted in the film. In fact, as Rick Thompson has suggested, the film is built around the rhythm of speech with blank verse, *Sprechgesang*, and songs[421] and music is used to articulate some of the gender performativity at play. The primacy afforded to music, and the film's status as a 'transitional' film, make it an

[417] See Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich*.
[418] cit. in ibid, p. 25
[419] Thomas Elsaesser, *Weimar Cinema and After: Germany's Historical Imaginary*, (London: Routledge, 2009).
[420] Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich*, pp. 38-45.
[421] Rick Thompson, 'He and She: Weimar Screwballwerk: Viktor und Viktoria,' *Cinematheque Annotations on Film*, 22, (October, 2002) at sensesofcinema.com/2002/cteq/viktor/#b3 (accessed 2nd January, 2014).

interesting case study for a chapter on music and comedy in the Third Reich and through comparison to a later back-stage musical film that also bases much of its humour on gender tropes – *Wir machen Musik* [*We Are Making Music*, 1941] – we are able to locate both continuities between the use of music in the Weimar comedy film and that of the Third Reich as well as differences that reflect the changing approach to comedy under the Nazis.

Viktor und Viktoria has a typical back-stage musical plot. The young, aspiring actress Susanne meets Viktor at a theatre agency where they both have unsuccessful auditions. Viktor proclaims himself to be a successful and serious Shakespearean actor to Susanne and pretends that he is off to meet a theatre director for dinner. Of course, Susanne then spots Viktor eating alone at the same canteen that she goes to and whilst he continues to brag about his successes, she accidentally discovers that he regularly performs a cabaret act in drag as 'Viktoria' (which he is defensive about). Once his secret is out, Viktor asks Susanne to stand in for him for the evening as he is ill with a cold. Her performance as a man in drag as a woman is so successful that she is offered a contract. With Susanne as 'Viktor' and Viktor as Susanne's agent, the duo goes on tour with the act, prompting a series of farcical back-stage scenes that play with mistaken identity and gender roles as they clamber to maintain the act both on-stage and off. In London, Susanne meets and falls in love with Robert, who manages to see through her mask, and he provokes her into telling him the truth, allowing the couple to be united in heteronormativity. Viktor, meanwhile, has less romantic success – in one scene he is lectured by his female love interest on how to be a Gentleman. At the end he takes over the drag act from Susanne and learns to capitalise on the comic aspect of the show – something he failed to do earlier, instead taking the act very seriously. Schünzel himself had originally wanted to be a dramatic actor but found that he was more successful when performing comic roles.[422] It is the conclusion afforded to Viktor, and not Susanne, that renders the question of performativity open.

The wartime comedy film *Wir machen Musik* tells the story of how classically trained musician Karl Zimmerman meets, falls in love and marries his student Anni Pichler. Following an awkward incident on the tram in which Anni pays for Karl's fare as she spots him searching for change, Karl discovers that she is one of his new students and

[422] Elsaesser, *Weimar Cinema and After*, p. 296.

after class offers to pay her back that evening, both in order to restore his pride and as a pretence for asking her out. This linking of gender dynamics with money is a key theme throughout the film, and one of the couple's biggest tensions. Anni tells him that she is busy that evening and later Karl spots her performing popular music at a bar he goes to with his wealthy student and patron. A series of meetings follow in which Karl pushes Anni to work harder in class and insists that she take private lessons in order to remain in the class. He suggests a teacher who would be willing to teach her for free, keeping his own identity hidden until she turns up for her first lesson. Their lessons consist mainly of Anni cleaning Karl's house whilst he attempts to teach her harmonic analysis over the noise of the hoover, but the couple do fall in love and marry. Meanwhile Karl attempts to get his opera published, to little avail, and Anni takes on work performing popular music in secret in order to support them financially. After an unsuccessful audition of his opera, Anni goes out with her ex-lover, who runs a music publishing house, in order to convince him to take on Karl's opera. Of course, Karl gets a phone call from his patron and they go to the same concert hall and see Anni there with the other man. The couple argue and Anni leaves. Each individually pursue their own career until their paths cross again whilst on tour. Anni reveals that it was her who arranged the performance of Karl's opera – the real reason she was with her ex that night – and Karl, still angry, refuses reconciliation. However, he does start composing music for Anni's show, requesting that his involvement be kept secret. Of course, Anni is told and the couple are reunited in a performance scene.

The film's title, and subtitle 'A Little Theory of Harmony', serve as double entendres, demonstrating the film's use of music-making as symbolic of the couple's romantic success, or love-making. At one point in the film, Karl's wealthy patron expresses regret that they don't 'do harmony together' anymore in front of Anni, to which Karl looks embarrassed. The tensions that Karl and Anni must overcome to achieve such harmony include musical differences and gendered power dynamics that are linked with competing ambitions. Anni serves as the advocate for popular music, whilst Karl sees himself as a serious classical composer. As a musical film (and therefore a product of the popular entertainment industry) it is naturally Anni who achieves financial success with her music, and Karl eventually learns not only to accept this, but to compose music for her. That Anni would become the bread-winner is made clear from their very first meeting. Crucially, Anni is successful as a performer and Karl as a composer (albeit of

popular music), upholding the typical gender trope of man as creator and woman as performer – a role that is in some ways reversed at the end of *Viktor und Viktoria*. Susanne makes Viktor's drag act a success and Viktor learns to perform the act from watching Susanne, taking over the role as performer.

I. Music, Bathos, and Ironic Detachment

From the first scene in *Viktor und Viktoria*, the music signals to the audience that the film is a comedy, bringing attention to its own constructed nature. It opens on the image of a man sitting in a stationary taxi listening to a female voice, looking up to the window from which the music appears to be emanating. His daze is interrupted by the sound of car horns from behind him (he is blocking the road) lapsing from the romantic register (particularly that of the disembodied female voice) to everyday reality. This incongruity between the two registers continues in the next frame as the camera cuts to a busy corridor. The quality of the sound shifts – its fidelity matching the space shown on-screen - and the spectators are brought closer to the source. However, instead of cutting directly to the singer, the camera pans along a line of hopeful auditionees to a lady sitting outside a door marked Opera. At first, it looks as though she is the one singing, until we become aware that she is just yawning deeply, not as captivated by the sublime music as the taxi driver outside. This opening sequence functions as an extended joke with a series of jab lines along the way, all of which play with the deflation of lofty ideals with the mundane. In doing so, it not only sets up the film as a comedy but reveals the mechanisms behind much of the humour in the film.

The music plays with the viewer's expectations in a self-reflexive manner, drawing attention to the artifice of film through the close coordination of tiny details and movements with the music. It is this ironic detachment that has led to the claim in secondary literature that the film contains the traces of the Weimar comedic traditions. Hake writes that Schünzel

> had been strongly connected to a tradition of ironic detachment and critical reflexivity that was unmistakeably coded as Jewish in the critical reception of their urban comedies. What previously had been evoked with innocence and pride now functioned as an aggressive gesture of exclusion

> that, in some instances, resulted in the summary dismissal of Weimar cinema as too "Jewish"[423]

However, self-reflexivity and irony is also employed in the opening scene of *Wir machen Musik.* It opens with a shot typical of the musical film genre – a birds-eye view of a stage with a giant rotating piano surrounded by stage-girls. The music playing is the title song 'Wir machen Musik,' which has jazzy inflections and is typical of the musical film in this period. What happens next, however, is less typical. The scene cuts to the unglamorous outside of a Berlin tenement building before zooming in through an open window into Karl and Anni's apartment. The music continues as wartime reality undercuts the spectacular escapism promised by the opening shots. This incongruity between the registers of escapism and reality continues throughout Karl's opening monologue in which he tells us about his wife, his children, and his tax band. His speech is delivered as direct address, also dismantling the illusionary function of the opening scene. As in the opening of *Viktor und Viktoria*, the interjections of reality serve as jab lines in an extended joke, which both reveal the constructed nature of the film itself and play with the incongruity between entertainment, or escapism, and reality. However, the bulk of the film happens within the embedded narrative and it is the bookends that appear discardable.

II. Musical Bathos and the Crisis of Masculinity

In many Nazi comedy films, gender serves as the central social conflict. Hake has noted, for instance, that the comedy films starring Heinz Rühmann (including the aforementioned *Wenn wir alle Engel wären*) often articulate the crisis of masculinity through his typecasting as the 'little man'.[424] On the one hand, his on-screen persona provided a means of identification for those who did not fit with the Nazi ideal of masculinity and on the other, the comic role of his characters relied on their status as 'outsider' in order to be funny. The comic character, as we have seen in the case of the Soviet comedy film, is rarely a successful (normative) model member of society and their role as comic object consolidates their status as 'other'. For Hake, Rühmann's popularity rested on this tension between identification with and identification against his characters. This crisis of masculinity can also be found in the characterisation of Viktor

[423] Hake. *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich*, p. 29.
[424] ibid.

and Karl as weak and unsuccessful men, something that is articulated through the music associated with their characters.

When we are first introduced to Viktor he is demonstrating his 'dramatic' acting skills with extravagant exaggeration and slapstick gestures in a farcical audition scene. Viktor's comic characterisation relies on his inability to acknowledge his own failings. Like Byvalov in *Volga-Volga*, the audience immediately understands the situation (that Viktor is a terrible actor and the audition is a disaster) but Viktor continues to test the patience of the panel by lecturing them on his curriculum vitae – one which appears fabricated in any case due to the inauthentic-looking photographs Viktor presents of him in various costumes. His arrogance and pride are most likely a result of his insecurities, which is made clear in his continual insistence that he is a 'serious' actor. However, the music that accompanies his character at the beginning of the film undermines his assertions. As he leaves the building his small, everyday gestures (footsteps, closing the door) are closely-synchronised with the non-diegetic music in the first of many examples of mickey-mousing in the film. Viktor is often accompanied by such music and is rarely afforded music that works as emotional underpinning. The improbable close-synchronicity of sound and image and the association of mickey-mousing with cartoons reveals a tongue-in-cheek register that undermines his inflated self-presentation and treats him as a caricature. At the end of the film, Robert tries to provoke Susanne into revealing her true (feminine) identity by taking her to a barber shop for a shave. The music in this scene alternates between mickey mousing for Susanne as she tries to hide her discomfort and fear and Robert, contrasting the 'real man' with Susanne as Viktor. However, elsewhere she is given non-diegetic emotional underpinning. In the restaurant scene she spots Robert show affection towards his female companion and the tone of the music changes to reflect her emotional response. Mickey-mousing is connected to artifice, whilst emotional underpinning is reserved for the characters' true feelings and importantly, Viktor is not afforded such moments.

The music clearly differentiates between male and female in the film and nowhere is this clearer than during the first encounter between Viktor and Susanne. Viktor rhythmically pats his body in search of one of his headshots, and Susanne emerges from off-screen with the photograph, stating with surprise that she thought of him as more of a comedian. Viktor responds with indignation, 'Don't make me laugh, Ha-ha-ha-ha'. His

words are enunciated as sprechgesang – the statement is rhythmic and the false laugh is pitch notated - which heightens the dramatic delivery. A similar scene occurs later in the film when Viktor recovers from a sore throat. On the word 'idiot' his voice comes back and he sings the word multiple times at full volume, provoking laughter from those around him, who think he does look like an idiot. He then marches over to ask for his wages but instead of asking in plain speech, he sings in an operatic style. This use of high-brow music to accompany his mundane request is another example of the use of bathos for comic characterisation. Unlike the non-diegetic music that mocked Viktor at the start, the words he first speaks to Susanne are his conscious self-expression. The association of sprechgesang with drama, through its use in opera, coincide with Viktor's insistence that he is a dramatic actor. For Viktor, at least, high-brow art is masculine and popular entertainment is something to treat with disdain – the female domain. However, as the genesis of sprechgesang can be linked back to the technique of melodrama in opera (speech accompanied by music) or perhaps even back to an attempt to bring the vocal enunciation used in lieder and popular songs to opera, the 'high-brow' connotations of its use here is not without its own irony. In addition, as the actor Victor is playing a comic character in this film, the joke also works on a further level. His indignation at being called a comic actor is humorous in the context of a film in which the actor Hermann Thimig was playing a comic character. Thimig himself largely acted in film operettas and comedy films. These multiple interpretive layers are characteristic of many of the jokes in the film.

The scene continues with Viktor singing the line, 'Dear Fraulein, meet the hero and the lover, Viktor Hempel.' Throughout the film, Viktor is presented as anything but the hero and lover – Susanne is shown to be more successful both artistically and romantically, managing to simultaneously attract both women and men. Viktor's love interest would later stand him up and instead seek out and flirt with Susanne (dressed as Viktor). His male inadequacy is, as is often the case in Nazi film comedies, linked with his inability to attract a love interest. Susanne replies to Viktor's introduction with a song in which she dreams of becoming a successful performer. The long, legato phrases and accompanying strings are typical of the type of musical codification associated with women[425] and the words, with their emphasis on dreaming and honesty, contrast with

[425] Philip Tagg, 'Music, Moving Image, Semiotics and the Democratic Right to Know,' paper delivered at 'Music and Manipulation' conference, Nalen, Stockholm, (18 September 1999), tagg.org/articles/sth99art.html (accessed 17 September 2018), p.14.

Viktor's masculine pride. His interspersions throughout the song maintain a restrained melodic register – never quite reaching full singing - and speak of how difficult it is to succeed. Susanne's singing, which is itself unrealistic within the diegetic context, is contrasted with Viktor's sprechgesang and the music positions Viktor as a realist, in contrast to Susanne's idealistic (and unrealistic) singing. However, as the audience knows, Viktor is not the successful, serious actor he is pretending to be and the first time Viktor sings 'One Day in Spring', he switches between sprechgesang and singing, which can be interpreted as his true self creeping in. This restrained singing may have been intended to reflect the cold from which Viktor is suffering. However, on the other hand the cold itself could be seen as a pretext to hold back his feminine side until the opportune moment within the film. As soon as his secret is out and his cold passes, Viktor drops the sung-speech and the music in the film is largely popular. During the scenes in which Susanne is pretending to be a man, she only uses speech and never song. Perhaps this is because singing is not presented as a masculine pastime or form of expression (unless in drag). Again, this complex layering of interpretations both between characters and of audience interpretation is demonstrative of the mirroring and artifice that is central to the comedy in *Viktor und Viktoria.*

As previously mentioned, *Wir machen Musik* also articulated gender identity through music. Throughout the film, Karl's insistence to be taken seriously as a Classical composer is met with failure and his inability to acknowledge his own weaknesses stands in the way of both his professional and romantic success. During their music lessons, Karl attempts to teach Anni harmony and piano. The camera cuts between Karl sat at the piano and Anni, who is undertaking household chores, undercutting Karl's efforts at music-making (the sublime) with the mundane. Anni fails to take the music lessons seriously and her success *despite* the apparent lack of effort undermine Karl's insistence on discipline and training.

Music is not presented as a masculine profession in the film[426] – all of the students in his class are female - and Karl's insistence on the importance of classical training and serious music reflect his own insecurities. That Anni's music is linked with femininity is

[426] In *Liebeskommando* [*Love's Command*] the female character dresses up as a man to study at the military academy, in lieu of her brother, who would rather study music. *Liebeskommando* [*Love's Command*], d. Géza von Bolváry, s. Fritz Grünbaum, Alexander Roda-Roda, m. Robert Stolz, p.c. Super-Film GmbH (Germany, 1931).

made clear during the montage sequence that marks the passage of time and signifies to the audience that the couple are now married. We hear Anni's voice singing the title song and are shown a series of before and after shots of Karl's apartment. There are flowers where there were none, the dishes that were there have been cleared away and the flat is tidy. Anni's presence is both seen and heard, without the marriage (or even the actor) being shown. It is Anni who earns the most money, and in the end Karl is forced to overcome his pride and focus his efforts on making her show a success by orchestrating the music. In his article on composers in Nazi cinema, Guido Heldt demonstrates that composers are often depicted as weak men with strong women pulling the strings in the background. He argues that this could be seen to reveal doubts about the merits of high-culture in the Third Reich.[427] In such constructions, cinema also articulates its own insecurities with relation to traditional high art, and film's defence of popular art over high art is no exception.

III. Farce and the Carnivalesque

Besides the mirroring and dramatic irony at play in *Viktor und Viktoria,* farce also plays a prominent role, particularly during the multiple dressing scenes. Bakhtin's concept of the carnivalesque, with its focus on the material body (particularly that of the lower stratum) is relevant here.[428] Take, for instance, the first dressing scene in which Susanne (pretending to be Viktor) must get changed in front of the other male artists in the dressing room. She watches awkwardly as a large man takes off his shirt and trousers; an older, stern gentleman takes off his toupee; another large man takes off his hairnet to reveal neatly combed hair and proceeds to draw on false eyebrows; and a clown admires his facepaint in a mirror. All of the above is done with minimal diegetic sound - the characters are all silent, with the sounds of circus music faintly in the background, perhaps coming from the stage, until the clown tests out his tuba and the sound of the geese in the background reminds the spectator of their presence and hints at what happens next. This sequence is evocative of slapstick silent film practice, as the characters all use exaggerated actions and Susanna and Viktor use mime to communicate in secret and the tuba's interjection acts as a musical euphemism. Viktor, anxious about the time, tries to undress Susanna, who hits him and refuses to undress in front of the men and so

[427] Heldt. 'Hardly Heroes,' pp. 114-135.
[428] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, Hélène Iswolsky (trans.), (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984). For the focus on the material body, see pp. 18-30.

Viktor releases the geese and the men rush off after them. The carnival music, along with the focus on masks, the grotesque and the body (the central tension of the scene is the issue of Susanna's female body), are key to the carnival aspect of the scene. For Bakhtin:

> The mask is connected with the joy of change and reincarnation, with gay relativity and with the merry negation of uniformity and similarity; it rejects conformity to oneself. The mask is related to transition, metamorphoses, violation of natural boundaries, to mockery and familiar nicknames. It contains the playful element of life; it is based on a peculiar interrelation of reality and image.[429]

This negation of uniformity and natural boundaries is central to the film, as Susanna and Viktor attempt to keep Susanne's true gender identity a secret. In doing so, they must maintain the act off-stage and thus the London socialites that they meet become participants in the show (they live in it) and not merely spectators – a distinction which Bakhtin stresses separates the carnival from modern spectacles.

Viktor und Viktoria uses drag to poke fun at superficial traits of masculinity and femininity. Susanne's cross-dressing itself is not particularly subversive. *Hosenrollen* (trouser roles) had long since been a theatrical tradition. Images of women in suits and top-hats were fairly common in cinema of this period, especially in musicals.[430] *Wir machen Musik* also contains such an image in the final scene, where Anni and Karl appear on a giant grand piano in tailcoats and top hats whistling together. Throughout the film, Anni is shown to be the dominant figure in their relationship – she figuratively wears the trousers. But this final scene shows the pair as equal – from afar it is hard to tell which is which – and the supradiegetic space in which they perform music together, provides the stage (or in this case the piano) on top of which they perform their joint identity as husband and wife. Here, their romantic union is displayed through the title song 'Wir machen Musik' and the clothing also comments on their romantic pairing. It also places the performance within a tradition of female cross-dressing in musical films. In *Viktor und Viktoria*, however, cross-dressing is more about play, artifice and mockery.

As male clothing is more practical, the image of women in trousers was often linked with modernity in the cinema of the Third Reich, whereas male images were

[429] ibid., pp. 39-40.
[430] Richard Dyer highlights a list of *Hosenrolle* [trouser role] films from before the Weimar period up until *Capriccio* [1938], see Richard Dyer, 'Less and More than Women and Men: Lesbian and Gay Cinema in Weimar Germany,' *New German Critique,* 51, Special Issue on Weimar Mass Culture, (Autumn, 1990), p. 7.

altogether less flexible.[431] In *Viktor und Viktoria*, Viktor is finally successful as Viktoria when he learns to capitalise on his blunders, as Susanne had done in her first performance, changing his drag act into one of comedy and farce. *Charlie's Aunt*, a comedy written by Brandon Thomas, features a man dressed up as a woman, and was made into a pantomime in 1930. Over the years an abundance of film adaptations have emerged, one of which was filmed in Germany in 1934, and starred Paul Kemp as Francourt 'Babbs' Babberley.[432] Whilst men did originally play the parts of women in theatre before women were allowed to be on stage, the practice of travesti in pantomime is to provide humour, and the sight itself contains an element of the grotesque - they typically exaggerate traditionally feminine traits, whilst maintaining aspects of their masculinity in order for the joke to function. Viktor's performance as Viktoria in the film is similar, as his movements are heavy and awkward, whilst the sexually suggestive lyrics 'I've got a little castle in Spain, won't you come and play with me?' work on the level of incongruity between the grotesque and seduction. Overall, the scene recalls Bakhtin's focus on sex and debauchery in images of the carnival.[433]

Whilst Susanne humorously stumbles over superficial signs of 'manliness' such as drinking whiskey, flirting with girls, smoking cigarettes, and remaining calm whilst spotting vanilla ice cream on the menu, she is, at large, more serious and brave than the cowardly, and at times ridiculous, Viktor. When Robert tricks him into believing that he must duel Douglas, his first response is to run away, and Susanne (who knows of Robert's trick) attempts to challenge his masculinity by calling him a coward. Robert does the same to his friend Douglas, remarking that Viktor surprised him by behaving in a 'manly, unflinching' manner. Whilst this episode subtly mocks masculine pride by showing the two men accept the duel despite neither of them wanting it. Again, when Viktor asks if Susanne will be okay on her own while he goes on a date she replies: 'No. I'm not a young girl! I'm a grown-up, experienced man who is the equal of any situation. I hope I can prove it tonight.' Ironically, it is Viktor who then spends the evening alone, crying and drinking too much – whilst Susanne catches the eye of numerous women in the restaurant she goes

[431] Heins, *Nazi Film Melodrama*, p. 93.
[432] *Charleys Tante* [*Charley's Aunt*], d. Robert A. Stemmle, s. Robert A. Stemmle, m. Harald Böhmelt, p.c. Minerva-Tonfilm GmbH (Germany, 1934). Heinz Rühmann would later star in a 1956 West German adaptation.
[433] Bakhtin, *Rebelais and His World,* p. 317.

to. In *Wir machen Musik*, Anni is the dominant figure in the central relationship, and is altogether more mature than Karl, who is led by his ego.

Whilst *Viktor und Viktoria* does turn gender into play, the conclusion re-establishes the social order. When on tour in London, Susanna meets and falls in love with womaniser Robert, who appears to recognise her essential femininity, even when she is dressed in a tailcoat. When he visits her dressing room and examines her make-up, he says, 'It must have taken you a lot of work to be able to express all of that… femininity', she replies by stating, 'It is… innate'. As Robert falls in love with Susanne, a woman, his heterosexuality is confirmed, whereas Ellinor's interest in the 'man' behind Viktoria is more ambiguous. In order for the happy couple to be united, as the formulaic ending demands, Susanne must stop acting as Mister Viktoria and revert back to a 'feminine' way of living. This reconciliation of the film's complex gender narratives happens very quickly. The director allows approximately thirty seconds for Susanne to discover the flowers with a note from Robert proposing marriage and run over to embrace him, before cutting to Viktor. Bearing in mind the little time allowed for this resolution, Kenneth MacKinnon's assertion that the necessary formulaic endings in melodrama and musical narratives are discardable seems appropriate:

> As has often been reiterated, what may be memorable about melodrama is not the recuperative end but the dust which it raises on the way the near inevitable, "forced" closure. Similarly, the resolutions of musical narratives are discardable.[434]

Although the tension between Susanne's 'true' and 'false' identities are resolved, the forced ending happens so quickly, that the spectator is left focusing on the main body of the film. Or as Heldt states: 'The happy end does not make what went on before go away, and what remains is the exhibition of artifice: all the world's a stage'.[435] The final shot of the two couples marching from the stage towards the camera and out into the audience immediately follows on from the big reveal, in which Viktor is whisked off into a side room after his performance in order for his sex to be confirmed. The onlookers chant 'a man, a man, a man' to the tune of Susanne and Viktor's success march 'To the Top' when

[434] Kenneth MacKinnon, '"I Keep Wishing I Were Somewhere Else": Space and Fantasies of Freedom in the Hollywood Musical,' in Marshall and Stilwell (eds.), *Musicals: Hollywood and Beyond*, p. 45.
[435] Heldt, *Music and Levels of Narration in Film,* pp. 151-2.

the result has been declared. Bakhtin states that 'Clowns and fools […] are characteristic of the medieval culture of humour. They are the constant, accredited representatives of the carnival spirit in everyday life out of carnival season.'[436] It is Viktor, in his role as the clown both on and off the stage, who ensures that the spirit of play continues beyond the necessary closure.

Some of the musical devices used in *Viktor und Viktoria* for humorous effect are present in *Wir machen Musik*, including the use of music to differentiate between male and female, which in turn articulates a crisis of masculinity through the use of bathos for the male figure. However, Karl does not achieve success for himself on his own terms but by learning to work with his wife. The focus on the carnivalesque is absent in *Wir machen Musik*, where the body (and sex) is articulated through music and the mirroring and doubling of interpretations present are not as multiple as in *Viktor und Viktoria,* limiting the ambiguity that is key to the kind of open text that allows for multiple readings. For Bakhtin carnival laughter 'is ambivalent; it is gay, triumphant, and at the same time mocking, deriding. It asserts and denies, it buries and revives.'[437] Perhaps this ambivalence explains why *Viktor und Viktoria* was allowed to go ahead in the early years of censorship, whilst simultaneously explaining why no other film quite like it would be released in the Third Reich.

Conclusion

In both the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, the regime acknowledged the affective power of laughter and promoted films which they believed instilled 'joyful' or 'cheerful' laughter in the viewer. With the popularity of slapstick films in the 1920s, it is unsurprising to find many of the techniques of Hollywood slapstick humour in the comedy films discussed in this chapter. Whilst satire held a difficult position in both countries, slapstick humour could be seen, on the surface at least, to negate problems of interpretation by relying on apolitical observations and incongruities. However, the physical nature of slapstick humour – its reliance on the incongruity between the body and its surroundings – would prove difficult to fit with Socialist Realism in the Soviet Union, where the conscious citizen was to be rational and not spontaneous. One way around this would be to assign the comic role to the 'outsider' figure but as cinema was to depict the perfect society, the role

[436] Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His* World, p. 8
[437] ibid., p. 11-12.

of such characters would diminish. In the Third Reich, such slapstick roles were assigned to characters who do not fit the ideal mould (often the weak male figure), which in part explains the duality of their appeal for audiences, who could interpret these characters as both exultantly subversive or as objects of derision.

The films in this chapter all use music as the basis for much of their humour. Sight and sound gags that play with the incongruities between what we see and hear draw attention to the constructed nature of the film in a playful manner which involves the spectator in a consciously active way – the joke brings attention to our cognitive processes, or rather, to our expectations through the element of surprise. With their focus on jokes that play with our assumptions of film and its music, the humour in these films deconstruct their own reality effect, which in turn fosters a sense of community. The role of gender identity is stronger in the comedy films of the Third Reich, which often focus on a battle of the sexes, and whilst this is present in Soviet comedy films (particularly *Volga-Volga*), gender stereotypes are less important than the secondary identity positions that the characters occupy, such as class. Whilst *Vesyolïye Rebyata, Volga-Volga,* and *Viktor und Viktoria* were all popular at the time of their release, they could not have been produced even a few years later, when in both countries lyricism would take primacy over eccentric comic devices.

Chapter Four
Death as Audio-Visual Spectacle in Nazi and Stalinist Cinema

As this thesis has demonstrated, musical moments create affective communities through the sense of auditory alignment and a shared subjectivity and differences in humour help to define the boundaries between those who are inside and those who are outside the national community. Death scenes, with their emphasis on emotional responses, are also moments of shared affective experience.

In Viet Harlan's melodrama film *Opfergang* Albrecht moans, 'Night, night, night… nothing but night and death. Whilst outside the sun is shining.' His in-laws are gathered around enacting one of their ritual Sunday 'services' in which they close the curtains to shut out the sun, read from Nietzsche's Dionysian-Dithyrambs and play Chopin's nocturnes. His statement, when read only in the light of the narrative and setting, refers directly to his current situation. He finds their tradition stuffy and morbid, in contrast to the sublime nature awaiting them outside. However, the larger implications of his words are clear when the film is considered in its historical context. This is Nazi Germany in 1944, when the war was all but lost and the contemporary spectators would likely have suffered huge personal losses – outside the sun is most definitely *not* shining. This is a film that is permeated with death and concerns itself with the concept of the 'good death' – one that embraces death with acceptance, sacrifice and beauty and not morbidity and darkness – in a time when many had met, or would meet, their death in war. And yet, crucially, this is all done within the context of a personal narrative.

This opening example demonstrates clearly the central argument of this chapter – that death, in its dual function as both an extremely personal experience and a universal one, is a bearer of ideological and political messages in the cinema of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. Personal loss is linked with the collective cause and music bridges the gap between these two narrative registers. Often death is made meaningful in relation to its narrative context, but more than this, it is made meaningful in the very way in which it is presented. There are instances in which death is presented in a perfunctory manner (which in itself carries ideological weighting) but one of the most standout features of Nazi and Soviet films is the number of deaths presented as audio-visual spectacles endowing scenes with a larger-than-life quality. The evidence presented in this chapter

goes against traditional views that narrative is more controlling of the viewer than the cinematic spectacle,[438] instead demonstrating that such scenes are tailored towards producing a certain affect – most broadly, the sense of an affective community. Through this focus on affect, death in the films of the Soviet Union and the Third Reich becomes a site of collectivity that addresses the community directly in a similar manner to that of scenes of musical performance.[439] This chapter will examine the use of music in death scenes in terms of both the ideological content of the scenes and their form.

Of course, the idea that death scenes carry ideological messages is not new, nor is it one that applies only to these two film cultures. In particular, the 1970s saw much disagreement amongst scholars about the potential for subversive readings of Hollywood melodrama films. One side of the debate focused on the genre's role in solidifying a hegemonic social order, often by killing off the characters that threatened the established social norms.[440] In these instances, death is used as a punitive measure in the films. On the other hand, scholars such as Laura Mulvey and Thomas Elsaesser, have located subversive aspects of the film form that undermine the prevailing attitudes and values.[441] The very concept of reading a film 'against the grain' recognises that a dominant ideology does exist within such films, and it is only moments of ambiguity that allow for subversive readings. The close involvement of the state in film production through the centralised state of the industry in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union to some extent limits such ambiguities, or at the very least demonstrates that the regime was attempting to control spectator response to films in both cases. Whereas in Hollywood, with the Motion Picture Production Code (a set of moral guidelines for filmmakers), industry professionals were attempting to control spectator response for fear of upsetting certain sections of society and thus risking scandal and potentially a drop in their reputation and profits, filmmakers in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union were doing so primarily in response to state

[438] Tom Gunning argues that the move from spectacle to narrative in early cinema was reflective of control. See Tom Gunning, 'The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde,' in Thomas Elsaesser (ed.), *Early Cinema: Space-Frame-Narrative*, (London: BFI Publishing, 1990).
[439] Schulte-Sasse notes that the theatre in Nazi films becomes a 'site of collectivity' through which the community is addressed directly. Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich*, pp. 293-294. For more on musical performances in film as moments of a shared subjectivity see Chapter Two.
[440] see Barbara Creed, 'The Position of Women in Hollywood Melodramas', *Australian Journal of Screen Theory*, 4, (1977), pp. 27-31. For a similar approach to death in opera see Catherine Clément, *Opera: The Undoing of Women*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).
[441] Laura Mulvey, 'Notes on Sirk and Melodrama,' in Laura Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 39-44; Thomas Elsaesser, 'Tales of Sound and Fury,' *Monogram*, 4, (1972), pp. 2-15.

politics. In the case of death scenes in Nazi films during the war, for instance, it was important for the state to control the narrative representation of death to avoid undermining support for the war. In both film cultures, new government bodies were established to oversee all aspects of film production, from the development of film production materials to distribution.

Death Scenes and Issues of Spectatorship

The Soviet and Nazi regimes were responsible for the deaths of millions of people. It was therefore important that fictional representations of death were carefully managed, as death scenes could have the potential to challenge the desired reading of a film - the loss of a life may be considered a necessary sacrifice to one spectator but may be understood as a tragic waste of a life to another. Taking this one step further, if the spectator were to disagree with the way in which the film's narration framed the death, they might find it difficult or problematic to engage with the film at all past this point. Even if the death scene came at the end of the film, it could alter the way in which they thought about the film after it had ended. Music played a key role in the attempted management of responses to death scenes, acting on the affective register and creating audio links between the deaths and subsequent scenes which lend meaning to the death.

In the Soviet film *Aerograd* [*Aerograd,* 1935][442] the central character, a border guard, discovers that his oldest friend is a saboteur. As a guard, it is his duty to kill his best friend and place the country over his personal relationship. He walks his friend into the forest and just before shooting him he addresses the audience directly, stating 'I will kill a traitor and an enemy of the people, my friend of 60 years, Vasil Petrovich Khudyakov. Witness my grief.' The scene is framed in a similar way to the other death scenes discussed later in this article, with foregrounded music that gives the scene a larger-than-life quality, a speech that frames the death in terms of the ideological message, and an audio bridge that connects the death to the political cause – in this case the advancing Soviet airplanes and the arrival of the Bolsheviks in Aerograd (the scene of victory). In Murray Smith's structure of sympathy, our identification with a character requires our *allegiance* with their goals and world-view – we evaluate their moral character based on our own understanding of morality.[443] When the viewer understands

[442] *Aerograd,* [*Aerograd*], d. Aleksandr Dovzhenko, s. Aleksandr Dovzhenko, m. Dmitriy Kabalevskiy, p.c. Mosfil'm and Ukrainfil'm (Ukraine, 1935).
[443] Smith, *Engaging Characters*, p. 102.

a character to be immoral, but the filmmakers frame them as moral to bolster the regime, they may experience what has been termed 'imaginative resistance'. Spectators may also have experienced 'imaginative resistance' if their alignment with the film's conception of morality was threatened. The death here is framed as a necessary sacrifice and protective measure, and the film frames his action as the moral, albeit difficult, thing to do. To be selfish in this instance, the film says, risks the safety of the entire Soviet Union. As such, the guard in *Aerograd* is necessarily humanised, and his grief is stated clearly – he is not a cold-blooded killer. On the other hand, an excess of sympathy for his personal loss also threatens to undermine the message of the film – that loyalty to the Party must come above personal ties. As such, the film attempts to ideologically manage the fictional representation of death, but despite this, spectators not fully committed to the message of the film may still have read the scene differently, leading to politically undesirable readings.

The potential for unintended responses to scenes of death was not missed by officials in the Third Reich. As previously mentioned, they were acutely concerned about the unpredictable nature of spectatorship and Goebbels' diaries reveal his concerns with potentially subversive readings of the films. The S.D. *Berichte aus dem Reich* [Reports from the Reich] reveal anxieties around the reception of on-screen deaths. For example, one spy wrote on May 14th 1940 about how scenes of death and destruction in war films had undermined support for the war amongst some viewers:

> What is being revealed by all war films has often been apparent with the film *Baptism of Fire* also, namely that a uniform reaction cannot be achieved with all spectators, no matter how a film is structured. While part of the audience wants more battle action and actual war scenes, above all it is women who have expressed sympathy with the Polish, and the images of destroyed Warsaw have not created heroic pride, but rather a depressed, anxious mood in regard to the "horrors of war."[444]

As a result, images of dead bodies were removed from newsreels during the war as there were fears that the bodies of the enemy would elicit sympathy (in particular, from the female viewers) and on the other hand, images of fallen Nazi soldiers would also undermine the support for the war by revealing the cost.[445] Of course, some of the reports

[444]Heinz Boberach, *Meldungen aus dem Reich*, 4:1122, cit. in Heins, *Nazi Film Melodrama*, p. 167.
[445] Heins, *Nazi Film Melodrama*, p. 167.

are likely to be fabricated or exaggerated and viewers were unlikely to espouse opinions that were opposed to the regime, and so they do not necessarily reflect the true response of the public. However, the reported spectator response played a significant role in identifying the success, or otherwise, of the film's transmission of the intended meaning.

In the Soviet Union, discussion on spectatorship response was largely focussed on whether or not a film managed to successfully convey its ideological message. As Goebbels would watch nearly every film prior to release, Stalin would regularly call up Shumiatskiy, between 1933 and 1938, and ask him to bring over a selection of films that were in production or had recently been completed for him to view in the Kremlin with a handful of associates.[446] Shumiatskiy would take the feedback away and make changes based on their response. Often, Shumiatskiy's notes on the feedback would focus on comments about affect. About the film *Chapayev* [*Chapayev*, 1935],[447] for instance, Viacheslav Molotov is to have remarked that you couldn't watch it without being moved and that you emerged both excited and elated,[448] and Andrey Zhdanov remarked that 'no other film has moved me as much as this one.'[449] Such praise or criticism based on their own emotional response to the films was common and responsibility for the effectiveness of the film was directed at the filmmakers, with less focus on the public's ability to 'misread' a film – in contrast to Goebbels' comments. In the Third Reich, entertainment films were not to make their ideological message blatant, for danger of putting the spectator off the film, whereas in the Soviet Union, every film was expected to contain strong ideological messages to educate the masses in the Soviet way of living, ideally in an entertaining way. Death scenes in Soviet films were discussed in terms of their 'effectiveness', basing this judgement on the response of the Kremlin viewers, and not specifically in terms of subversive readings. That is not to say that spectator response was not considered, however. Toropova's recent work on scientific studies into spectatorship in the Soviet Union has revealed a shift from the study of audiences (in terms of typographical studies) towards research into spectatorship in the early 1930s. She writes

[446] For Boris Shumiatskiy's notes on the screenings see Taylor 'On Stalin's watch: the late-night Kremlin screenings: May to October 1934', pp. 243-258 and Richard Taylor 'On Stalin's watch: the late-night Kremlin screenings, October 1934 to January 1937' *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema,* 8:2, (2014), pp. 138-163.
[447] *Chapayev* [*Chapayev*], d. Georgiy and Sergey Vasil'ev, s. Georgiy and Sergey Vasil'ev, m. Gavriil Popov, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1934).
[448] Shumiatskiy notes dated 8 November 1934 in Taylor, 'On Stalin's watch: October 1934 - January 1937,' p. 141.
[449] Shumiatskiy notes dated 8-9 November 1934 in ibid., p. 142.

'Different forms of "work with the viewer" before, during, and after the film screening or theatre performance were initiated as measures to eliminate barriers to comprehension and ensure the viewer's correct interpretation.'[450] Such research demonstrates a similar anxiety over spectator response in the Soviet Union to that in Nazi Germany, only in the Soviet context this was framed as a form of 'cultural enlightenment work'[451] rather than as a way to control anarchic and subversive readings, even if in practice they both amount to the same thing.

The Political and Narrative Function of Death Scenes

Despite the potential destabilising effect of death scenes, they can also be used to serve a political function, whether through concepts of martyrdom, where ideology becomes so important that people are willing to die for it, or as a catalyst for revenge or change. Clark has noted that 'All Stalinist novels include some kind of "death" … because death is involved not only in the preparatory or liminal phase of the rite but also in the moment of passage itself.'[452] The death of which Clark writes here is metaphorical, but the literal death of a secondary character often plays the role she describes, providing the catalyst for the hero's transformation process. An extreme example of this can be found in a handful of films that use death scenes to justify the purges. These films are relatively rare and necessitated an especially careful approach, as can be witnessed in the case of *Velikiy Grazhdanin* [*The Great Citizen,* 1937][453], which underwent so many changes in response to Stalin's comments that Peter Kenez argues that Stalin could even be considered a co-author.[454] In particular, he commented that the death should not be the emotional climax of the work, with this reserved for the 'unmasking' scene, reflecting the emphasis on the cause rather than the death. This contrasts with the Nazi anti-semitic film *Jud Süss* in which the death and subsequent mob scene form the emotional climax of the film, intended to incite hatred towards the Jewish character Süss. This film was one of the big-budget propaganda films that make up a small proportion of the films produced and the use of death in this role was rare in the cinema of the Third Reich. Death as a political catalyst is much less common on the Nazi side than in the Soviet Union, whereas the melodrama genre (and its death scenes) was more common in Nazi film. Generally

[450] Toropova, 'Probing the Heart and Mind of the Viewer,' p. 945.
[451] Ibid., p. 945.
[452] Clark, *The Soviet Novel,* p. 178.
[453] *Velikiy Grazhdanin* [*The Great Citizen*], d. Fridrikh Ermler, s. Mikhail Bleiman, Manuel Bolshintsov and Fridrikh Ermler, m. Dmitriy Shostakovich, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1937).
[454] Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society*, p. 133.

speaking, death scenes are more blatantly propagandistic in Soviet films, whereas they serve a more hidden role in Nazi films. However, Clark does note a vogue for themes of tragic love and suicide in Soviet theatre and literature during the Spanish Civil War in the Soviet Union, even though this was still considered a controversial topic amongst intellectuals and the political elite, and despite Stalin's personal preference for the hero's survival.[455] For Clark, these themes are congruous with Romantic ideas of unfaltering commitment in the face of death that reflect the contemporary wartime situation. As such, their propagandistic function was still present, albeit in less blatant capacity.

During the Second World War, scenes of death in war were used to call for revenge in the Soviet Union. Films about the war focussed on the partisan movement and on the role of women instead of soldiers at the front as realistic depictions of war casualties would be too demoralizing.[456] For the Soviet Union, the war provided the opportunity to foster a new wave of Soviet populism that would see real support for Stalin and for the motherland. One way of achieving this was to use death scenes to provoke moral outrage that vindicated the leadership. In this way, their use of death to build support for the war effort was more akin to Hollywood than their Nazi counterparts, although a handful of films did frame Nazi invasions as a response to inhumane treatment of Germans. The films *Heimkehr* [*Homecoming*, 1941][457] and *Menschen um Sturm* [*People in the Storm*, 1941][458] show the violent treatment of Germans in Poland and Yugoslavia respectively, framing the Nazi invasion as a heroic rescue mission, whilst justifying the persecution of the Polish and Serbs that would follow. However, for the most part, scenes of dying soldiers could undermine support for the war by eliciting feelings of regret that there is a war going on in the first place, by either evoking sympathy for the enemy soldiers who die or drawing connections between what was happening in occupied territories and their home towns. Contrary to Laura Heins' claim that 'The deaths in Hollywood films are moral outrages that call for revenge, but in the Nazi films casualties are simply part of the

[455] Katerina Clark, *Moscow, The Fourth Rome: Stalinism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Evolution of Soviet Culture, 1931-1941*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 242-275.
[456] Denise J. Youngblood, *Russian War Films: On the Cinema Front, 1914-2005*, (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2007), p. 58. For a study of the partisan movement see Matthew Cooper, *The Nazi War Against Soviet Partisans, 1941-1944*, (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), and for the role of women in this see John Erickson, 'Soviet Women at War,' John Garrand and Carol Garrand (eds.), *World War 2 and the Soviet People*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), pp. 50-76.
[457] *Heimkehr* [*Homecoming*] d. Gustav Ucicky, s. Gerhard Menzel, m. Willy Schmidt-Gentner, Wein-Film GmbH (Austria, 1941).
[458] *Menschen um Sturm* [*People in the Storm*] d. Fritz Peter Buch, s. Georg Zoch, m. Wolfgang Zeller, Tobis-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1941).

sport of battle'[459], the fictional representation of death was carefully managed and such representations of death would have undermined support for the war. In the home front musical films, for example, the subject of death is approached, not through on-screen deaths, but through songs that refer to contemporary events. In *Die grosse Liebe* the song 'Davon deht die Welt nicht unter' [That Doesn't Make the World Go Under] and 'Ich Weiss, es wird einmal ein Wunder gescheh'n'' [I Know a Miracle Will Happen] both address the war and express hope for the final victory.[460] It is clear that death scenes are not merely removed from Nazi and Soviet films and instead, death is appropriated for the political agenda, adapting to the contemporary situation. As such, historically-informed analysis of death scenes, whether in film, literature or art, has the potential to shed light on contemporary anxieties surrounding death.

Death is never presented as meaningless in the films and even on the level of plot construction, they are always meaningful in relation to narrative logic.[461] As National Socialist and Soviet films have plots driven by causal logic, death is meaningful in relation to the chain of cause and effects: an initial death begins a storyline and relates to what comes next; an intermediary death is both an effect and a cause, meaningful in relation to the past, present and future; and a story-terminating death is an effect of previous events and the conclusion of a narrative.[462] However, scenes of death and dying do much more than act as a plot device and carry ideological messages that cannot be explained simply in terms of their position within the narrative.

In the examples that follow, I argue that death is made meaningful not only in relation to the narrative (its content) but also in the way that it is presented (its form). This is a similar approach to film scholar Schulte-Sasse, who writes that 'By no means is fascist language "just" a tool, "just" the form that gives body to contents. Rather, this form is the content'[463] Music plays a central role in the fictional representation of death, whether through emotional underpinning for the scene, making audio links between the death and other moments in the film, transforming the scene into an audio-visual

[459] Heins, *Nazi Film Melodrama*, p. 177.
[460] For more on these films and the ways in which they address the war, see Heldt, 'Front Theatre,' pp. 57-79.
[461] This is also true of Classical Hollywood narration, where everything becomes part of a chain of causes and effects that need to make sense.
[462] Boaz Hagin writes about death in Classical Hollywood narration in this way. Boaz Hagin, *Death in Classical Hollywood Cinema*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 4-5.
[463] Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich,* p. 19.

spectacle that encourage a different mode of spectatorship based on affect, or by commenting on the death through intertextual references. Through analysing the role of music in the meaning-making processes as well as its ability to turn death scenes into moments of spectacle, I hope to demonstrate that scenes of death operate on an affective level with the spectator, creating a sense of community based on affect.

Death as Audio-visual Spectacle

Often in scenes of death in Soviet and Nazi films the music is foregrounded. This gives the images a larger-than-life quality that involves a different mode of spectator engagement. Traditionally, spectacle has been discussed in terms of a spectator engagement that is distanced from narrative. For instance, Claudia Gorbman writes that spectacle music 'invites the spectator to contemplate [...] It evokes a larger-than-life dimension which, rather than involving us in the narrative, places us in contemplation of it.'[464] However, it is not really a position of contemplation that such moments evoke, but one of affect - a sense of direct rapport that blurs the boundaries between diegetic and extra-fictional reality.[465] As the music takes over the soundtrack and diegetic sounds drop out the scene is taken out of the reality of the storyworld and reduced to the feeling communicated by the music. The feelings generated are, of course, borne out of the diegesis and so the scene is not entirely removed from that reality. The separation of spectacle from narrative works best for extreme examples as the balance between narrational and non-narrational transmission varies, but the focus is on the *feeling* of the scene, rather than on the act of *reading* the narrative.

A clear predecessor to the fictional treatment of death as an audio-visual spectacle can be found in opera, where death is often accompanied by an aria.[466] As Roger Parker and Caroline Abbate observe, 'the dying singer in opera regularly defies physiology to produce a heart-breaking aria that puts the narrative on hold and positions the spectator

[464] Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987).
[465] Rose Theresa writes of the merging of spectator with screen image during moments of spectacle in Rose Theresa, 'From Méphistophélès to Méliès. Spectacle and Narrative in Opera and Early Film,' in Joe Jeongwon and Rose Theresa (eds.) *Between Opera and Cinema*, (New York/London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 1-18. Also see Judith Mayne, *The Women at the Keyhole*: *Feminism and Women's Cinema*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1992).
[466] Opera also has the tendency to turn death into a spectacle – a feature which has often been criticised, most famously by Catherine Clément in *Opera: The Undoing of Women,* in which she writes that opera features 'the infinitely repetitive spectacle of a woman who dies, murdered.' Clément, *Opera: The Undoing of Women*, p. 47.

in contemplation of it.'[467] Again, these scenes are not so much about contemplation as affect, but they do prolong the forward drive of the narrative, providing time and space for emotional engagement. Arias are used frequently for scenes of emotional intensity and death is often the emotional climax of the work.

There are a number of ways in which film music turns a scene into a spectacle and the manner in which the music is employed effects the degree to which the music is likely to be foregrounded for the spectator – a key characteristic of the cinematic spectacle. Diegetic musical performances naturally foreground the music and the lyrics of songs also help draw attention to the music, with its intertextual or extra-fictional references. The structure of the music also influences the spectators' awareness of the music as music that is formally autonomous is positioned towards the obtrusive end of an audibility spectrum by nature of their musical structure. This is due to the clear beginning, middle and end of the music. Lastly, music can also be foregrounded simply by raising the volume and removing diegetic sounds. In each death scene analysed in this chapter, a combination of the above characteristics are present and at their most extreme, all of these points work together to create moments of audio-visual spectacle that link the death to its political legacy.

Music and Moments of Shared Subjectivity

A handful of Nazi films have scenes in which characters die during on-screen musical performances. During Hanna's death in the infamous euthanasia film *Ich klage an* [*I Accuse*, 1941][468] the family friend and doctor plays piano in another room of the house as Hanna's husband assists her death. She takes her last breath as the music reaches its cadence. The off-screen diegetic music acts on the emotional register and the diegetic performance provides a doubling of diegetic and extra-diegetic sonic spaces – what we hear is also what can be heard by the characters on the screen, adding a sense of immediacy that is key to the creation of affective communities. In addition, the fact that the doctor suffers from unrequited love for Hanna and adamantly opposes her request to die earlier in the film adds another level of interpretation. The music allows him to metaphorically turn his back on the event, thus avoiding any culpability whilst also

[467] Roger Parker and Carolyn Abbate, *A History of Opera: The Last Four Hundred Years,* (London: Allen Lane, 2012).
[468] *Ich klage an* [*I Accuse*], d. Wolfgang Liebeneiner, s. Eberhard Frowein, Wolfgang Liebeneiner, m. Norbert Schultze, p.c. Tobis-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1941).

providing the emotional underpinning of the scene. He is not physically present during her death, but his presence is heard. The music thus links the characters in the room (Hanna and her husband), the doctor at the piano and the spectators in the cinema with diegetic music and the use of on-screen listeners.

A similar example can be found in the biopic about Tchaikovsky *Es war eine rauschende Ballnacht* [*It Was a Gay Ballnight,* 1939].[469] As the composer lies in a side room after stumbling off stage during a performance the orchestral music in the background again sets the emotional tone for the scene. However, it does more than this. The presence of music reflects Tchaikovsky's devotion to his work – even in his final moments he is listening closely to the music and he anxiously mutters 'the horns' just prior to their entry in the music, as if bringing them in himself. The music is too loud to be straightforward off-screen diegetic music at this point and his awareness of it is an example of internal focalization, in which the spectators experience the music as if *through* his mind.[470] In doing so, the spectator is in a privileged position, with access both to Tchaikovsky's inner sonic world, as well as sharing the experience of the other people in the room who are with him as he dies. The on-lookers act as diegetic audiences do in musical moments in films by prompting the spectator in how to respond to the death of the character.

A third use of diegetic musical performance to accompany death can be found in *Wunschkonzert*. Schwarzkopf, a music student, waits in a church with another soldier, whilst the rest of the soldiers in his unit go out to patrol. They lose their way as a fog descends and Schwarzkopf decides to play the organ to guide them back. The music saves the day but also alerts the enemy to his presence and a bomb hits the church just as he reaches the final chord [Figure 4.1.]. As Heldt notes, '[t]he kitsch effect is produced by the custom-tailoring of every detail: the transparent construction of significance.'[471] In this film, the shell hits just as he reaches the final chord, in *Ich klage an* Hannah dies at the exact moment the music stops and Tchaikovsky dies during a performance of his music. The co-ordination of these details creates a sense of harmony that is central to the kitsch effect that Saul Friedländer traces in Nazi representations of death. He writes,

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[469] *Es war eine rauschende Ballnacht* [*It Was a Lovely Night at the Ball/The Life and Loves of Tchaikovsky*], d. Carl Froelich, s. Géza von Cziffra, m. Theo Mackeben (on the works of Peter Tchaikovsky), p.c. Tonfilmstudio Carl Froelick Co. (Germany, 1939).
[470] For more on internal focalization see Heldt, *Music and Levels of Narration in Film*.
[471] Heldt, 'Front Theatre.', p. 64.

> faced with a kitsch representation of death, everyone knows that here two contradictory elements are amalgamated: on the one hand, an appeal to harmony, to *emotional communion at the simplest and most immediate level*; on the other, solitude and terror. It has often been said that one of the characteristics of kitsch is precisely the neutralization of "extreme situations," particularly death, by turning them into some sentimental idyll.[472]

This focus on emotional communion through a sense of immediacy and this kitsch representation of death as a sentimental idyll is central to the examples above – the fact that the death scenes are accompanied by music at all is kitsch as music works on an affective plane and is rarely present during real moments of death.

Figure 4.1. Religious imagery as Schwarzkopf reaches the cadence.

In the Soviet Union scenes that show characters dying during on-screen musical performances such as those above are rare. However, the use of diegetic song to accompany scenes of death is common. This is particularly true of the revolutionary film, where scenes in which revolutionary characters die are often accompanied by mass song. Song is used as an expression of collective mourning in the films and the display of crowds singing contribute to the construction of community by acting as a stand-in for the audience.

The use of pre-existing music to accompany death scenes is especially common in Soviet films. Films scored by Shostakovich, in particular, tend to use pre-existing music over original music for death scenes, as can be seen in *Yunost' Maksima* [*The Youth of Maxim,* 1934][473], *Zoya* [*Zoya*, 1944][474], and *Velikiy grazhdanin.* Previously, scholars have

[472] Saul Friedländer, *Reflections of Nazism: An Essay on Kitsch and Death,* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993), p. 27, emphasis my own.
[473] *Yunost' Maksima* [*The Youth of Maxim*], d. Grigoriy Kozintsev and Leonid Trauberg, s. Grigoriy Kozintsev and Leonid Trauberg, m. Dmitriy Shostakovich, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1935).
[474] *Zoya* [*Zoya*] d. Lev Arnshtam, s. Lev Arnshtam, Boris Chirskov, m. Dmitri Shostakovich, Soyuzdetfilm, (1944).

tended to treat the use of pre-existing music in these films as a result of practical constraints (time, money, effort etc.) and have provided little attention to the employment of the music.[475] Whether intentional or not, pre-existing music can affect how the scene is perceived. Pre-existing music that the spectators would recognise draws attention to itself by the very nature of the recognition process. Jonathan Godsall writes that 'pre-existing music will be "audible" if it is recognised by a perceiver, even if musically and in terms of its employment within a film it seems to lie towards the unobtrusive end of the spectrum.'[476] Often pre-existing music in these films stands out or in the words of Michael Chion, is 'exhibited'[477]. Not only does this draw attention to the music but also to the shared community to which the music belongs. In bringing extra-fictional referents with it, the music serves as a reality prop within the film and merges intra and extra-fictional reality by providing a sonic link between the two worlds.

It is not only diegetic music or pre-existing music that turns death scenes into audio-visual spectacles that merge the boundary between intra- and extra-fictionality. Non-diegetic music that is foregrounded by an increase in volume and/or a lack of diegetic sounds also does this. The death scenes found in the Nazi melodrama films such as *Opfergang* are perhaps the clearest examples of a sentimental treatment of death using foregrounded music that works on the affective register. Most infamously, in *Jud Süss* the victim Dorothea's body is carried along the water in a candle-lit procession to meet the crowds waiting on the bank of the river. The images follow the rhythm of the music, and with no diegetic sounds and the music at a loud volume, the scene takes on an air of significance that fits the ideological role of the scene – her death is framed as a result of the actions of Süss and thus acts as vindication for the persecution of the Jews. The foregrounding of music allows the creation of an affective community based on the impression of a collective feeling. In doing so, the focus is placed on the sentiment of the scene, rather than on the horror and reality of death. Melodramatic treatments of death such as those found in the Veit Harlan films such as *Opfergang*, *Jud Süss* and *Die Goldene Stadt* are more common in cinema of the Third Reich than their Soviet counterparts (not least due to the discrepancy between the number of melodrama films from the Third

[475] See, for example, Riley, *Dmitri Shostakovich: A Life in Film.*
[476] Jonathan Godsall. *Pre-Existing Music in Fiction Sound Film.* [PhD diss.] (University of Bristol, 2013.)
[477] Discussing the use of pre-existing music in *2001: A Space Odyssey* Chion states that it 'is *exhibited*, and is rarely mixed with sound effects, more rarely still with dialogue; it refuses to melt in or make common cause with other soundtrack elements'. Michel Chion, *Kubrick's Cinema Odyssey,* Claudia Gorbman (trans.), (London: British Film Institute, 2001), p. 71.

Reich, where they were common, and the Soviet Union, which tended to avoid the genre). In fact, Viet Harlan's wife and muse, Kristina Söderbaum, met a watery end in his films so often that she was nicknamed the *Reichwasserkorp* [*Reich Water Corpse*].

In such instances, the foregrounding of emotion and affect add to the construction of a 'beautiful death' trope that is present in the films of the Third Reich. In *Fascinating Fascism* Susan Sontag writes of fascism as a politics of beauty. She writes, 'Fascist art has characteristics which show it to be, in part, a special variant of totalitarian art. The official art of countries like the Soviet Union and China is based on a utopian morality. Fascist art displays a utopian aesthetics—that of physical perfection.'[478] To argue that art of the Soviet Union and China do not focus on the aesthetics of physical perfection is a simplification at best. However, there is a focus on the beauty and majesty of death present in cinema from the Third Reich, which takes a different form in the Soviet Union, where this majesty is largely reserved for scenes showing the political legacy of the death. Whilst the death scene in *Opfergang* and *Jud Süss* include close-up shots of Söderbaum's face with soft lighting, the suicide scene in the Soviet historical melodrama *Groza* [*The Storm,* 1934][479] avoids close-up shots of the actress as she dies. The central character Katerina's silhouette walks in and out of a wide-angle shot as she approaches the water. The silhouette adds anonymity to Katerina's figure and the scene signifies an absence through its static, empty *mise-en-scene*. The accompanying funeral march is a rare Soviet example of non-diegetic identification music during a death scene. One explanation for the use of such music here is that the death is framed as an example of what Emile Durkheim calls fatalistic suicide – the result of an individual trapped by an oppressive social context[480], in this instance sacred, pre-revolutionary Russia. The funeral march, which is comprised of the same intervals and shape as the often used Chopin march but without the dotted rhythm, is foregrounded by a lack of dialogue and diegetic sounds. This, along with the *mise-en-scene* invite the spectator to mourn her death as a tragic casualty of an oppressive society. The music encourages identification with the emotion of the scene, whilst the images maintain a distance from the death act itself.

[478] Sontag, 'Fascinating Fascism'.
[479] *Groza* [*The Storm*], d. Vladimir Petrov, s. Vladimir Petrov, m. Vladimir Shcherbachyov, p.c. Soyuzfil'm (USSR, 1934).
[480] Emile Durkheim, *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*, John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (trans.), (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1952), p. 276.

Music and Legacy: Displacement to the Collective Register

Of course, cinema is not the only artform to depict death and many of the tropes and limitations of representation have been discussed in relation to other forms. In *The Body in Pain*, for example, Elaine Scarry writes of language's inability to articulate physical pain, arguing that, instead, art transfers pain on to the emotional response of others and/or the weapon or wounds that cause the pain.[481] Applying this to cinema, Michele Aaron writes that,

> The necessity of this move away from the interiority of the body, from embodiment, will be shown to characterise mainstream cinema too, where dying, like pain, is displaced from corporeal to psychological suffering, from experience to inference, and from physical event to dramatic scene.[482]

In the films of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, it is rare to find the moment of death shown. Two common alternatives are cuts to scenes of nature or scenes in which characters carry the body of the dead, highlighting their martyrdom. In the first instance, music plays a crucial role in the displacement process – forming a key signifier in the absence of visual confirmation – and in both instances, it forms a sonic bridge between the individual death and the following images – between the individual death and its legacy. Both song and instrumental music serves this function. This displacement of individual suffering to the collective cause is arguably the most noticeable feature of death scenes in the films of the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany and the obtrusiveness with which the films do this varies depending on a number of factors, such as how overtly political the films is. Films such as *Hitlerjung Quex* [*Hitler Youth Quex,* 1933][483] and *Zoya* both feature young martyrs and the death scenes represent the peak of this trend. Melodramas, on the other hand, tend to feature death scenes that contain more subtle comments about the individual's role in society. As part of this displacement process, music places a crucial role in bridging the gap between the personal and the collective and it does so through a variety of methods.

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[481] Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 11.
[482] Michele Aaron, *Death and the Moving Image: Ideology, Iconography and I*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University press, 2014), p. 100.
[483] *Hitlerjunge Quex* [*Hitler Youth Quex*], d. Hans Steinhoff, s. Karl Aloys Schenzinger, Bobby E. Lüthge, m. Hans Otto Borgmann, l. 'Unsere Fahne flatter uns voran' Baldur v. Schirach, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1933).

'The Flag is More Than Death': Song links the death to the cause

The first, and perhaps the most obvious way in which music can assist in the transference of personal suffering to that of the collective cause is with song. The most extreme example of the use of song lyrics to draw the spectator's attention from the individual death towards the political cause, whilst creating a link between the two, comes from the infamous Nazi film *Hitlerjung Quex.* As Heini runs from a gang of communists, he is accompanied by fairly typical chase music by Hans-Otto Borgman, with an interjection of brass and drums to accompany a short fragment showing members of the Hitler Youth running through the street, presumably close by. As the Communists approach his hiding spot (a circus tent), the music falls away and it is the sound of a drum that Heini falls backwards into that betrays his location. His attack is then signalled by a scream off-screen before the camera shows a shot of his legs stumbling across the courtyard and a very brief shot of his body lying face-down in the dirt. His fellow Hitler Youth members approach him just as he is about to die, allowing enough time for him to mutter the first line of the song 'Our Flag Leads Us Forward'.[484] This transition from the words into the song attempts to mediate the potential to read the death scene as an insincere appropriation of his death for the party cause into a realisation of his last will and testament – the song and its message come from him. His words fade, and the sound of marching feet take over. At this point a Nazi flag is superimposed over Heini's body in the arms of his companions. He has his face up, as if looking towards the flag. The last line of the song, 'yes, the flag is more than death', is another justification for the song as it refers back to Heini's last words (and the accompanying superimposed image) giving the impression that this message is one that Heini himself has cast.

The melody foregrounds the word flag throughout, with the culmination of the melodic line at the word 'eternity', thus linking the imagery of the flag with eternity and the transcendence of death. The promotional material for the film includes the lyrics and the melody, drawing attention to the song and its message. The Illustrated Film-Kurier provided the lyrics and melody to the song as did the programme for the Capitol Film Theatre screening in Heidelberg. This practice was common for films in the Third Reich and it is clear that the song was intended to take on a life outside of the film itself. It would, in fact, become the Hitler Youth Anthem. Though we do not to date have any historical accounts of this taking place, in theory audience members would also be able to sing along

[484] For close textual analysis of the song, see Pietsch, *Tönende Verführung*.

in the theatre, thus intensifying the collective identification processes, and drawing attention to the music in the most extreme manner.

The flag imagery in the text and the montage sequence that immediately follows recalls the infamous *Horst-Wessel-Lied*, which was the anthem of the Nazi Party. That the anthem of the party should be tied so closely to a martyr figure sends a strong message. This intertextual link created a sense of continuity between the martyr myths – firstly that of Horst Wessel, who was shot by Communists in 1930, then of Herbert Norkus[485] (the real-life Heini) and finally the fictional Heini of the film. The narrative register of Heini's death thus switches from the personal to the national. Besides the lyrics, what is striking about this scene is the incongruity between the music and the emotional tone we might expect to find in a death scene. The music is a march in a major key. Along with the lyrics and the superimposed images of marching crowds, the music focuses attention beyond that of the individual's death towards the cause. Heini is linked, through the sonic bridge - his words becoming the song – and the visual dissolve to the party, with the implication being that he lives on through it. His dedication to the cause has granted him immortality – sinisterly, the music suggests that his life is less important than the cause. Or, in the words of the director, Karl Ritter: 'My movies deal with the unimportance of the individual—all that is personal must be given up for our cause.'[486] Goebbels believed that overt propaganda had its limitations and advocated films with more latent messages.[487] Therefore, this manifest political-propagandistic function[488] was not so common in films from the Third Reich – or at least was generally confined to the overt propaganda films.

In the Soviet Union, this use of song to link the death of the individual to the collective was more common, especially in martyr films. In the 1930s, the revolutionary martyr figure was common and during the war, many of the tropes were then used for the female patriot figure, who was often martyred in the name of the Motherland. A common musical accompaniment to scenes of death and dying in the context of

[485] At Herbert Norkus' funeral the Horst-Wessel-Lied was sung. Goebbels discusses the ceremony in his diary on the 29th January 1932. He writes: 'The father of this boy is brave beyond description. A simple worker, ashen gray with worry in his face, holds his arm high in salute during the Horst Wessel Song, singing with a mixture of rage and bitter pride: "Die Fahne hoch!" Out in front of the gates of the cemetery the Red mob awaits its next victims. One day this rabble will have to be liquidated like rats once and for all' cit. in J. W. Baird, *To Die For Germany: Heroes in the Nazi Pantheon,* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990), p. 117.
[486] Hull, *Film in the Third Reich*, p. 120.
[487] Goebbels, speech on 5th March 1937, reprinted in Albrecht, *Nationalsozialistische Filmpolitik*, p. 456.
[488] For a discussion of the distinction between manifest political-propagandistic function and latent political-propagandistic function see Albrecht, *Nationalsozialistische Filmpolitik.*

revolutionary martyrs comes in the form of the popular hymn *Vi zhertvuyu pali* [Y*ou Fell Victims*]. This famous march held strong associations that link death to the revolution – it was played at the funerals of figures including Lenin and at memorial parades for the soldiers of the revolution. Dmitri Shostakovich used this song on numerous occasions for death scenes. It features in *Yunost' Maksima*, *Velikiy grazhdanin*, *Chelovek c ruzh'yem*, not to mention in his Eleventh symphony. Prior to this, Edmund Meisel also used the song in *Bronenosets Potyomkin* [*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925][489] for the moment at which the body of Vakulinchuk is brought to shore. In *Yunost' Maksima* the death of two workers becomes the catalyst to revolution. After the second death, the men in the factory take to the streets in a funeral procession and the use of direct address at the end of the sequence appears to break the fourth wall and address the spectators [Figure 4.2.].

Figure 4.2. A 'workers funeral' links the death to the revolutionary cause.

The focus is placed on the collective mourning of the workers and on the political legacy of the event and the use of *Vi zhertvuyu pali,* which the audience would have been familiar with, brings intertextual connotations of martyrdom and revolution, whilst placing the death of the worker within the same tradition and lineage as revolutionary leaders and the soldiers of the revolution. This use of pre-existing music adds an element of ceremony, also perhaps even a kind of political liturgy, into the scenes which helps to give it a larger meaning. This is particularly true in the case of *Vi zhertvuyu pali* with its

[489] *Bronenosets Potyomkin* [*Battleship Potemkin*], d. Sergey Eyzenshteyn, co-d, Grigoriy Aleksandrov, s. Nina Agadzhanova, p.c. Goskino (USSR, 1925).

intertextual associations with memorial parades and funerals. The music enters as it is announced that they will hold a 'worker's funeral' and begins with off-screen voices singing. The song was so well-established in the Soviet revolutionary song tradition that the composer could depend on the audiences knowing the lyrics and the melody would intensify the identification processes as they would be able to follow along in their head and the off-screen voices give the impression of being immersed within the singing crowds. Shostakovich and the directors wanted to represent an epoch through the use of contemporaneous music and this march also served as a 'reality prop', rooting the film firmly within a shared national past.

A clear example of a martyr scene from the war period is in Lev Arnshtam's *Zoya*. During Zoya's execution, the perceiver is not given time to mourn the death of the individual but is instead invited to celebrate the cause for which she died. The 'Slav'sya' chorus from Mikhail Glinka's *Life for the Tsar* enters loudly immediately after Zoya falls to her death. This is another example of the use of pre-existing music for the death scene in a film that Shostakovich worked on. We are shown a close-up of Zoya's feet at the moment of death, and thus we are given a fragment of her body, but not enough to witness the death act in its wholeness. The camera does then show the silhouette of a hanging figure but cuts immediately to a montage sequence of canons firing and victorious war, shifting the focus abruptly onwards to the justification of her death [Figure 4.3.]. Through martyrdom, death serves as the ultimate vindication of the cause. The death act is one of heroic sacrifice but the triumphant music channels the emotions of mourning into the cause – in this case resistance. This is a more extreme version of the martyr death scene found in *Yunost' Maksima* and is remarkably similar to Heini's death scene in *Hitlerjung Quex* in terms of its formal construction – it shows the martyr's legs as they stumble/fall before a brief shot of their body; it has loud, bombastic song (with its own extra-fictional referents) that enters at the time of death; and the scene dissolves into images of the cause.

Figure 4.3. Cut from death to the cause. Zoya transcends death to become an emblem.

Instrumental Musical Bridges That Mitigate the Finality of Death

In the previous examples, song has displaced the pain of death onto the celebration of the cause through both song lyrics and by acting as a sonic bridge between the personal death scene and images of the political cause. This effect is also achieved visually through editing techniques such as montage and superimposition in *Hitlerjung Quex* and *Zoya,* whilst *Yunost' Maksima* has the characters carry the body out of the factory and onto the streets. However, the use of music as a sonic bridge is, of course, not limited to song, and instrumental music is also often used to provide continuity between the death scene and the following scene.

In the Soviet civil-war drama *Podrugi* [*Girlfriends,* 1935-1936][490], non-diegetic music does exactly this. It forms a bridge between two scenes that are temporally and spatially separated, the death scene and a scene of the remaining central characters advancing towards the camera in battle, helping us to understand these two scenes as linked. As if this were not enough, the hero Andrey gives a speech during the death scene that concretises the link between his friend Asya's individual death and the collective fight. As he draws Asya's head into his chest he addresses the 'girls of the future' about the socialist cause and the camera cuts to the images of the girls marching forward in battle. The primacy of speech in Soviet cinema of this period has been highlighted by Salazkina[491] and further discussed by Chion, who talks of the 'Ascendancy of 'King Text' in the mid-1930s more generally. Chion notes that theatrical speech (between two characters which imparts information about the narrative) was at the top of the hierarchy in sound film during this period.[492] It is therefore unsurprising to find numerous examples in which death is accompanied (and subsequently explained) by speeches. In addressing the spectator through speech, these films ensure that the message is not misunderstood.[493] In fact, after a Kremlin screening of *Krest'yane* [*Peasants,* 1935][494], in which a kulak murders his wife to stop her from unmasking him, Stalin remarked: 'It's a good piece and has a powerful effect. The speech over the corpse is powerfully and

[490] *Podrugi* [*Girlfriends*], d. Leo Arnshtam, s. Leo Arnshtam, m. Dmitriy Shostakovich, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1936).
[491] Kaganovsky and Salazkina, *Sound, Speech, Music in Soviet and Post-Soviet Cinema*, pp. 8-11.
[492] Michel Chion, *Film: A Sound-Art*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), p. 67.
[493] Anne Eakin Moss also notes this function of speech in Anne Eakin Moss, 'Stalin's Harem: the Spectator's Dilemma in Late 1930s Soviet Film', *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema*, 3, 2 (2009), p. 161.
[494] *Krest'yane* [*Peasants*] d. Friedrich Ermler, s. Mikhail Bolshintsov, V. Portnov, Friedrich Ermler, m. Venedikt Pushkov, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1935).

pointedly conveyed. The role of the Party leadership is shown exceptionally well and vividly.'[495] Here, the focus Stalin places on the speech shows its privileged position and his reference to the response of the Party leader reveals his primary concern with this film to be how the leadership is shown to respond – a fact that is made all the more transparent when we consider that the film was dedicated to Sergey Kirov. In *Krest'iane*, the Party leader's speech is delivered in silence – perhaps due to the severity of the situation (this is an example of an 'enemy within' film that attempts to justify the purges). However, Andrey's speech in *Podrugi* is accompanied by an orchestral Adagio, in a minor mode with a slow pulse, heightening the gravity of his words but also adding to the 'epic' quality of the scene. As Salazkina notes

> Because the greatest level of centralized censorship in Soviet cinema was exercised upon the written word in the form of the official approval of the script, the nonverbal aspects of the oral delivery and the overall soundscape could bring out the nuances and carry the burden of colouring the "official word" with individual expression, operating on the affective level in the relationship to the spectator or listener, creating – or dividing – affective communities through sound.[496]

As the camera cuts to the battlefront, brass and full orchestra are added, the volume is raised, and all diegetic sound drops out of the soundtrack, dramatically altering the scale of the music. As Joan Titus has noted, this is one of two epic sections in the score, with the other appearing during the rescue scene, in which Asya and Zoya are about to be shot by the enemy but Silych and Natasha ride in and rescue them. [497] The fact that epic music features in these two scenes links Asya's death with the previous depiction of heroism. In this instance, the combination of music and speech acts similarly to the previous examples of the use of song.

[495] Taylor, 'On Stalin's watch: the late-night Kremlin screenings, October 1934 to January 1937', p. 150.
[496] Salazkina, *Sound, Speech, Music in Soviet and Post-Soviet Cinema*, p. 10.
[497] Titus, *The Early Film Music of Dmitri Shostakovich*, pp. 172-173.

Figure 4.4. Bridge from absence to onward marching soldiers.

The heroic death scene in *Chapayev* does not use speech, instead relying on the non-diegetic music to provide an audio bridge between Chapayev and the scenes of onward marching soldiers heading towards victory. The death sequence begins with the diegetic sound of gunfire and a faint, slow drum beat that helps build tension. When Chapayev's gunman is shot, he falls to the ground as non-diegetic orchestral music enters. The music's entry is loud and diegetic noise falls away. This is particularly obvious when the camera cuts to the enemy's machine gun, that is still firing at Chapayev but producing no noise. Here, sonic fidelity is not the point and the scene is in keeping with that of the epic battle sequences found in mainstream Hollywood war films. This foregrounding through volume and lack of diegetic sounds refuses to let the music fade into the background and adds a larger-than-life quality to the scene. As his body sinks underwater, the scene cuts to a wide shot of the river, simultaneously creating an affective space for the spectator whilst signifying a presence or transcendence into nature. This scene then cuts to the scene of onward marching soldiers, clearly linking Chapayev with the cause for which he died and demonstrating that his death was not 'in vain' by associating his death with the imminent success of the army [Figure 4.4.].

Of course, the second scene in the sequence does not have to be a direct representation of the cause for a similar effect to be achieved and the legacy that is

foregrounded does not have to be overtly political. In the very first film cited in this article, *Opfergang,* the character Aels is shown to live on not through the party but in nature – a connection which is referenced throughout the film. As mentioned in the opening paragraph, this film concerns itself with the concept of a 'good death' in a time when many were suffering great losses. Throughout the film, Aels is shown to be vivacious, continually ignoring her doctor's requests that she rest, instead claiming that she would rather live a short life full of excitement than waste her life waiting for death. Her death scene is one of melodramatic excess, with a strange hallucinatory sequence in which she says goodbye to her lover, setting her affairs in order, before fading into images of the sea, with the words 'Far away. The sea is far away. Are you gone? Or is it I? We cannot know.' As her face fades into the blue hue, we see the gates to her house open out to the sea and her lover and his wife are shown riding on horseback along the beach. The scene is accompanied by a choir of disembodied voices that swell in and out of dissonance. The music, along with the images, provide a bridge across a time gap (as Aels dies her lover is in bed ill, not riding along the beach), mitigating the finality of death by removing the cut between the scenes. The married couple talk of Aels becoming at one with the sea and breeze and of her 'return' to the elements. Octavia states 'now she is wind and wave' before the couple kiss and ride off towards the horizon. This idea of human becoming nature goes back to Greek mythology, where humans become the gods and goddesses of nature through death. In a sense, Aels *is* nature in the film – she is not quite part of normal human society and this is frequently explained through references to the elements and to nature. Textless voices (especially female ones) are a common signifier of transcendence in 19th and early-20th century music.[498] In particular, they signify a transcendence into nature, which is clearly shown in *Opfergang.* By leaving behind the narrative bindings of diegetic logic – the music is not rooted in the diegesis but is foregrounded – film music has the capacity to give the impression of transcendence in a way that the visuals struggle as it is much harder for them to leave the diegesis of the film. The superimposition of images, along with the blue hue that implies water, is an unusual attempt to show transcendence into nature in a visual manner [Figure 4.5.], just as *Hitlerjunge Quex* and *Zoya* both use superimposition to imply a transcendent space that is above diegetic reality.

[498] For more on this, see Guido Heldt, 'Delius' *Song of the High Hills*.

Figure 4.5. Haptic imagery as Aels transcends into nature.

These images, with the use of superimposition, all encourage haptic engagement, by inviting the eye to engage with the surface and texture of the film. As Jennifer Barker argues close-up shots of texture create a reciprocity between viewing body and object on screen as the film encourages the eye to 'caress' and 'palpate' the objects and surfaces.[499] As mentioned in Chapter Two, haptic images were frequently used in Nazi cinema for moments of transcendence, particularly for death and for radio technology. The foregrounded music also involves a haptic engagement, as hearing, too, is a haptic experience. This focus on a heightened sensorial engagement with the film during these moments both singles them out as climatic moments in the film and turns them into affective spectacles that gesture beyond the film frame.

Aels embraces death at the same time as accepting that she cannot be with her married lover. In the novel, it is Albrecht who dies; but Richard Taylor claims that Goebbels saw this as a vindication of adultery and insisted that it should be Aels who dies in order to uphold the sanctity of marriage.[500] This reveals that Goebbels understood death as punitive. The happy couple riding off into the distance clearly supports this view, but the affair between Albrecht and Aels is not shown in a negative light and Octavia learns how to live life more fully, through observing her husband's lover. Death is not just an example of Hagin's 'story-terminating death'[501] here, and forms a central theme running throughout the film – the film does not just use death as a plot device but espouses a message *about* death and living life in the face of death. Through her death,

[499] Jennifer Barker, *The Tactile Eye: Touch and the Cinematic Experience*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009), p. 42.
[500] Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany*, p. 150.
[501] Hagin, *Death in Classical Hollywood Cinema*, pp. 4-5.

the film espouses a message about self-sacrifice, self-discovery and stoicism in the face of death.

Musical transcendence – when the music takes over the soundtrack and leaves behind diegetic reality – also adds a 'sacral aura'[502] that draws on the lexicon of death in religion. Neither regime was keen on traditional religion (the Soviet Union more obviously than in Nazi Germany, where the relationship between regime and church was one of mutual grudging accommodation, rather than rapport) but the sacralisation of the political sphere may have been a way of finding an outlet for the feelings normally taken care of by organized religion. The use of religious tropes would make the transmission of ideology easier by drawing on a system of semantical connections that the audience would already be familiar with. Taking a similar idea of comprehensibility, Jan Plamper explains the phenomenon of modern personality cults as an 'alchemy of power' that draws on religion, amongst other things. Plamper uses the term sacrality as it 'conveys the echoes, traces, and rechanneling of religion in the modern, purportedly "disenchanted" world.'[503] Religious imagery can be found in many of the examples discussed. Heldt notes that Schwartzkopf's face grows distant in *Wunschkonzert*,

> as if he is seeing into another world, and here the film twice shows the cross with the crucified Christ on the wall, as if to say that Schwartzkopf's life, too, only finds its fulfilment in death. Supposedly typical of German high culture, religious transcendence and hero cult are bundled into a package so heavy with significance that it seems overwrought even in Wunschkonzert, which is rich in scenes claiming national significance.[504]

As mentioned above, the open vowels in *Opfergang,* as well as in another of the Kristina Söderbaum drowning scenes in *Die Goldene Stadt,* draws on a musical tradition that is associated with transcendence. As a Soviet example of the use of religious imagery during death scenes, *Krest'iane* shows the husband draging the body of his wife into a barn and hoisting her up onto a rafter in order to stage the death as a suicide. The light bursts through the cracks in the wall behind her and her figure is bathed in light. The husband kneels before her hanging body before leaving. Of course, the martyr films are also heavy with religious imagery. In *Hitlerjunge Quex* and *Zoya,* the space created by the

[502] I take the term 'sacral aura' from Jan Plamper, *The Stalin Cult. A Study in the Alchemy of Power,* (New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press, 2012).
[503] Plamper, *The Stalin Cult. A Study in the Alchemy of Power*, p. xvi.
[504] Heldt, *Front Theatre*, p. 65.

superimposed images of the cause transcends diegetic reality and the use of sonic bridges that link the death to the legacy mitigates the finality of death and implies that the characters live on through the party.

Conclusion

Death scenes in the cinema of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union reveal anxieties surrounding the fictional representation of death and the music that accompanies scenes of death and dying exposes traces of an attempted management of spectator response to on-screen deaths. Audio bridges, song lyrics and speeches all attempt to link the death to its purported meaning and to manage the interpretive processes of the spectator. Working on the affective register, music also contributes to the emotional tone of the scene and bonds the spectators together in an affective community – something which is common in most cinematic death scenes but takes on significance when considered in the context of mass politics. The music is often foregrounded, giving the scenes a larger-than-life quality and air of significance that creates a sense of immediacy that blurs the boundary between the filmic world and extra-fictional reality.

Analysis of the scenes in question reveals numerous attempts to harness this affective power for the political cause, whether through notions of martyrdom or to provoke collective moral outrage. Whilst attempts to manage spectator response are not necessarily evidence of political intention, they are often a product of the mood of times, revealing contemporary anxieties and imaginings of death. Death scenes in Nazi and Soviet films range from the overtly political scenes in martyr films such as *Hitlerjungequex* and *Zoya* to the scenes of personal suffering in *Groza* and the melodramatic drownings in Viet Harlan films. However, even in the films which are not overtly propagandistic, death acts a site for the creation of affective communities, which was politically desirable for the regime in the Soviet Union and the Third Reich. Whilst many of the theoretical points in this article could also be made about Hollywood cinema, it is only through historically informed analysis of film that culturally specific conclusions can be drawn about the ideological function of music in film.

Conclusion
Beyond the Moment

This thesis has examined the use of music in the cinema of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union from the perspective of community construction. Both regimes were acutely concerned with the promotion of national-political communities and filmmaking was linked with the task of affective integration, through which citizens would come to identify with the regime. Scholarship on both Nazi and Soviet society is divided on the effectiveness of each regime's appeals to the emotions of its citizens and without reliable evidence of genuine emotional responses of individuals to the films (which would be impossible in this instance), any conclusions we might draw could only be speculative. As Fitzpatrick states, 'I am not sure how accurately I can tell you how I feel today, and if I were to make claims about *your* emotional condition – individually or collectively – those claims would be very dubious.'[505] However, we can analyse how emotions were performed on-screen and identify affective appeals and formal strategies within the films that demonstrate attempts to manage spectator responses.

All films attempt to achieve certain emotional responses from their audiences and music often plays a key role in guiding these. However, in the Nazi and Soviet contexts the ideological value placed on emotional and affective integration alters the shape and function of such affective communities. In the Soviet case, emotional education was part of the project of social transformation, with the performance of emotions (particularly positive ones like *schas'te*) becoming a civic duty, whilst in Nazi Germany the emotions were conceptualised as both a useful tool for fostering affective attachments to the *Volksgemeinschaft* and a source of anxiety, as negative emotions towards the regime and its ideology threatened to undermine its authority. The performative aspect of the display of emotions was also a concern for the Soviet state, where there were frequent calls to unmask hidden 'enemies' of the community.

The management and observation of spectator response in the films from the Third Reich and the Soviet Union took on ideological significance. As this thesis has demonstrated, death scenes were especially problematic for the two regimes. Whilst the fear of death has been shown to unite individuals and create social bonds, the cinemas of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union tended to shy away from direct representations of

[505] Fitzpatrick,'Happiness and *Toska*', p. 357.

death on-screen. The use of foregrounded music, which in light of our contemporary expectations seems too jovial to accompany death, demonstrates anxiety over potential anarchic spectator responses. Interestingly, it is in the use of music to accompany death that the strongest similarities can be found between Nazi and Soviet filmmaking, perhaps due to a shared need for both regimes to frame death on-screen in ideological terms. Music was used to comment on the ideological function of the death in question through audio bridges, song lyrics and in colouring the emotional tone of speeches. In addition, the use of haptic images, which are particularly common in (although not exclusive to) films by Veit Harlan, in combination with loud music to accompany images of death on-screen draws attention to the affective nature of the scenes through a heightened sensorial engagement with the film. Through the semiotic linking of death with the party and the concept of the national community, the spectator is invited to engage haptically with the latter through the depiction of the former.

It was not just negative spectator emotions such as regret and sadness that required management. The films examined in this thesis also contain traces of the management of spectator desire that links happiness to the regime, supporting the argument that Nazi and Stalinist dictatorships were biopolitical forms of government. In particular, the Soviet regime attempted to promote happiness as the result of socialist reconstruction. Official calls for comedy films that reflected the supposed happiness of the populace were unsuccessful in their goal to bring forth a wave of Soviet comedy films, not least due to an incompatibility between socialist realism and comedy, which relies on incongruity and discord to function. The Aleksandrov musical films attempted to use music to instil humour, in what would appear to be moderately apolitical and therefore a safe form of humour; however, the perceived apolitical nature of the films brought its own criticism as the films were attacked for not being political enough. In the Third Reich, filmmakers also attempted to create comedy films that did not involve social criticism, as satire and irony were associated with the Weimar Republic and a 'Jewish' sensibility.

Both regimes acknowledged the affective power of laughter and attempted to define an appropriate form of laughter and comedy that was 'joyful' or 'cheerful.' As laughter is a physiological response, rather than an emotion - it is not even always a product of comic amusement - it is interesting that the Soviet regime placed the emphasis on defining an appropriate form of laughter, which is ultimately a *display* of comic amusement, rather than humour itself. It is this performative aspect of laughter that

makes it problematic in the context of two regimes that sought to manage the emotions of its citizens. The need to define the form of laughter in emotional terms – linking it to joy and happiness – demonstrates an anxiety around the difficulty reading laughter. Whilst satire held a difficult position in both contexts, the use of sight and sound gags, which were used frequently in both cinematic contexts, emphasises an incongruity between what we hear and what we see that plays with our expectations of filmmaking - the joke brings attention to our cognitive processes, or rather, to our expectations through the element of surprise - and is largely divorced from political commentary. However, slapstick comedy also often relies on an incongruity between the body and its surroundings that was problematic in the Soviet context, where the conscious citizen was to be in-tune with their surroundings. Not only this, but the model Soviet citizen was rational and not spontaneous, and surprise is a crucial ingredient for comic amusement. Aleksandrov musical comedy films often assign the comic role to the 'outsider' figure but as the pressure to depict a perfect society grew, the space for comic outsiders was reduced. In the Third Reich, slapstick comedy was often performed by the weak male figure, which reveals a crisis of masculinity that allowed male comic stars to function as both subversive and as objects of derision, depending on the ideological position of the spectator.

Whilst attempts to manage spectator response is not evidence of political intention, it is possible to read these moments as reflections of contemporary anxieties. For example, the attempt to manage emotional responses to scenes of death reveals a sense of controlled imaginings of death and dying on-screen that at least attempt to limit anarchic readings of the film that would threaten the affective community. I am not arguing that filmmakers consciously attempted to promote affective engagement with the concepts of the *Volksgemeinschaft* or the Soviet collective. Community is a concern of all film cultures and popular cinema's appeal to mass audiences renders the formation of affective communities essential to the success of filmmaking generally. However, the discourse surrounding the emotional potential of filmmaking in the Third Reich and the Soviet Union contains ideological undertones that help to sharped distinctions between Nazi and Soviet conceptions of community. Not only this, but filmmakers and spectators going to the cinema would be well aware (through various propaganda campaigns) of the concepts of *Volksgemeinschaft* and the Soviet collective, altering the ideological and political significance that community held for each historic audience.

The use of diegetic musical performances and on-screen listeners act as expressions of community in the films of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, whilst also fostering a sense of direct communication that gave the impression that the films were created by and for the national communities – helping to define a national cinema in relation to the global, international market. Whilst the films of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union adopt similar means of spectator address, the affective communities represented are distinct, reflecting the differing ideologies underpinning the definition of national communities in each instance. For example, the community represented in *Wunschkonzert* is distinctly modern, with images of technology that are fetishized through the use of haptic imagery. Whilst modernity is important in *Kubanskiye Kazaki¸* the mode of aesthetic engagement with music that is privileged in the film is that of concert attendance and acoustic music-making. Music in this film is unmediated by technology and serves to exoticise rural community living. What they do have in common, however, is their use of musical engagement as a metaphor for a utopian national community during times of considerable hardships in the form of war and starvation. Through the impression of spectator address as well as a foregrounding of affect, the scenes gesture beyond the moment and diegetic constraints towards a transcendental community.

In addressing the use of music in the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, this thesis also takes a comparative approach. Most of the similarities found between filmmaking in the two regimes appear on the level of concerns and preoccupations. The relationship between entertainment and ideology or propaganda involved careful balancing in both contexts. Art was understood as a tool that could be used in the transformation of cinema audiences into models of the *Volksgemeinschaft* and Soviet collective. However, the film industries were also subject to commercial considerations. Economic viability was essential in order to maintain the film industries and as both regimes were invested in film production and distribution, a loss of profit would directly impact their finances. Not only this, but it was recognized that in order to appeal to mass audiences films needed to be entertaining. In the 1920s, Hollywood films were hugely popular in both contexts, leading to complex relationships between the two national film industries and international film culture. Both political ideologies viewed commercialism in negative terms. It was linked with the 'Jew' in Nazi discourse, whilst in the Soviet Union

commercialism was entwined with capitalism. As such, there was a need in both contexts to reframe and rebrand commercial filmmaking in political terms.

One of the ways in which both states rebranded entertainment was to promote it as a reward and prerogative of the national community. Consumerism more generally was linked in both contexts to the construction of national communities, with the promise of the 'good life' and its associative emotional drive appropriated in both instances by the regimes to encourage affective integration. The entertainment industries were also part of this in their promotion of enjoyment. However, the manner in which they attempted the rebranding of entertainment differs on a number of points. In Nazi Germany, Goebbels promoted a separation of propaganda from entertainment that marketed the film industry as a relatively free industry that was able to produce ideologically neutral entertainment films. In reality, this separation of entertainment from ideology is far less straightforward as Goebbels viewed every film prior to release, often making suggestions that he believed would make the film politically 'watertight' – a far cry from the 'hand's off' approach implied by the dichotomy of entertainment and propaganda. In fact, it is this separation that many film stars from the Third Reich referenced after the war to exonerate their involvement – they claimed they were only making entertainment.

In addition, there was not the same need to ensure that every film contained ideological content that would be edifying for the spectator in the Nazi context. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, filmmaking was continually held up by committee meetings at which the ideological implications of the film were explored, as all films were required to adhere to the vague policy of socialist realism, which placed more of an emphasis on the educational aspect of art. As such, Goebbels' superficial separation of entertainment from propaganda (superficial in that entertainment films were still to be morally sound and not threaten Nazi power) sustained the industry during its transition by allowing a certain degree of continuity with Weimar film production. Entertainment films were framed as 'morally sound' but the role of politics in their production was downplayed in official discourse in the Third Reich, whilst in the Soviet Union ideology was all-encompassing and even happiness was discussed in relation to the regime.

One explanation for the different approaches to the marketing of entertainment films is that the Nazi party inherited a cinema with established conventions and methods of production and consumption. After the Russian revolution, the Bolshevik party

inherited an industry that was only nascent, whilst in Nazi Germany the Weimar Republic had successfully garnered considerable reputation for its film production, even if the high production costs and the Great Depression had bankrupted many studios. Not only this, but a stronger influence of Hollywood aesthetics can be found in Nazi films due to the strong import and export culture that had existed in the Weimar republic. Whilst Hollywood films were banned towards the end of the 1930s after the release of anti-Nazi films, the audiences in Germany were already accustomed to Hollywood film conventions and the popularity of these films led to certain compromises on the part of the Nazis. Not only this, but Goebbels' liked many Hollywood films and was particularly impressed with their ability to condense ideological content into popular, accessible film narratives.

The Soviet Union, filmmakers did attempt to borrow aspects of Hollywood filmmaking and a group of film personnel and composers were sent to Hollywood to learn about their methods. Hollywood films were released in the Soviet Union in the 1920s, to much admiration from the filmgoing public, but towards the end of the decade economic factors hindered the import industry. Without the currency needed to purchase imported film reels (both in terms of production stock and completed films) the industry was having to rely on its own production system. The economic constraints faced in the Soviet Union are one explanation for the aesthetic distance between the films of the Soviet Union and the Third Reich. Another is that filmmakers struggled to integrate socialist realism with other popular genres, such as comedy, whilst the lack of an official aesthetic allowed for a stronger influence of Hollywood genre constructions in the films of the Third Reich.

Both regimes did attempt to adapt popular Hollywood genres into national forms but a shared fear of excess in both contexts led to a higher degree of realism than in Hollywood. Official discourse on the role of art in society from the Third Reich and the Soviet Union reveals similar calls for a use of realism that was based on teleological concepts. The representation of reality was understood as a tool for heightening spectator identification with the film, which would help make use of arts transformative potential. However, on further inspection it becomes clear that realism itself was understood differently within the two contexts. The German concept of *Wirklichkeitsnähe* was less of an aesthetic form and more of a question of relatability for the spectator. Publication material promoted the contemporary relevance of films, which was used as a marketing tool to draw spectators to the cinema, and the emphasis was placed on relatable characters and situations. In the Soviet Union, realism carried different

connotations following the debates between filmmakers in the 1920s over documentary versus fictional filmmaking. A realist aesthetic tradition did continue to influence filmmaking in the 1930s, particularly in the revolutionary hero films, where the earnest nature of the subject called for a higher degree of at least situational realism despite calls for entertainment films that could rival Hollywood productions.

A high-level analysis of the use of music in these two cinematic contexts reveals that films in both regimes tended towards sparse soundtracks with isolated moments of diegetic musical performance or song. There are numerous reasons for this from economic constraints (sparse soundtracks with small ensembles and songs were cheaper to finance and both industries were under financial strain in the 1930s), commercial considerations (the music was framed as an attraction in itself and tie-in products such as record sales and sheet music increased revenue) and ideological benefits (the use of song and pre-existing music increased the semiotic potential of music and was easier to censor, it could be used to boost morale during times of hardship and music was also linked to ideas around national identity). In both regimes, composers and theorists criticised the use of illustration music and claimed that it did not utilise the full emotional potential of film music. However, once again on the level of discourse, differences emerge on the political nature of film composition. Whilst in the Third Reich, composers were most concerned with the 'low' quality of film scores, criticising the *Schlager* for what they perceived as it's 'low' status and commercialism, the discourse in the Soviet Union was marked by the question of how music could best serve socialist realism.

Whilst there is no such thing as a widespread totalitarian aesthetic, this thesis has demonstrated that there are discernible trends in the use of music. The most prominent of these is a preference for isolated moments of foregrounded music. This use of music is well suited to the task of fostering imagined and affective communities. The music often works on an affective level to tie the spectators together in a shared emotional and affective experience. Diegetic music is frequently used to simulate the experience of concertgoing for the spectator, blurring the boundary between intra- and extra-fictionality. It is also frequently used in Nazi and Stalinist cinema to guide the spectators' reading of the film both by dictating the emotional tone of the scene and by adding to the semiotic potential of the images through audio-bridges, intertextual referents and song lyrics. These conclusions are in some ways limited by the scope of this project. Two film cultures and over a decade of films from both contexts (many of which are difficult to

access) has inevitably meant that some exceptions to these trends have been missed out. However, in choosing to focus on the most popular films and the films that were heavily debated or criticised, the conclusions of this thesis can be applied at least to the mainstream films in both contexts.

In this thesis, I have focussed on the ways in which the films in the Third Reich and the Soviet Union situate themselves in contemporary reality (or the recent past in the case of *Wunschkonzert* and *Kubanskiye kazaki*) in order to both appeal to the audience by means of close identification and to construct the image of the ideal society. In examining these films it is possible to extrapolate ideas about how society was to be shaped under each regime, or at least how it was represented in cinema. However, examining how past spaces are sounded in cinema is a different but interesting question that warrants further study. In the cinemas of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, the past becomes a site for performance of politics. In particular, the invocation of a shared national past through music in historic epic films would be a fruitful avenue for further exploration that would complement the focus taken in this thesis on the appeal to affective communities. Bakhtin's notion of the 'epic' as a 'transferral of a represented world into the past' helps to explain the blending of contemporary ideological concerns with an imagined past that is central to the use of past spaces for myth construction in Nazi and Stalinist cinema, both of which produced films that used the past to legitimise their policies.

In taking the use of music and spectacle to construct the sense of an affective community through film as a focus, I have largely ignored non-diegetic background music in favour of moments in which the music has been foregrounded. Whilst the cinema of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union tended to privilege isolated moments of diegetic music, or at least non-diegetic music employed in such a way as to draw attention to its presence and affective nature, musical scoring techniques in which the music sits towards the inaudible end of the spectrum are not completely absent from films from either context. Another related consideration would be a focus on the use of long-range musical strategies. As one of the key composers of the 'symphonic score' type outlined by Egorova, writings on the music composed by Prokof'yev for film have covered this area to a certain degree but more could be made (in particular) of this use of music in imaginings of the past as a site for the performance of contemporary politics.

In highlighting and exploring some of the discernible trends in the use of music within both cinematic contexts, I have taken as my starting point the understanding that both regimes at least intended to manage spectator response to films. Through close analysis of how music functions in these films, traces of the management of spectator response – both in terms of their emotional response as well as their understanding of the narrative – can be found that reflect contemporary anxieties over the relationship between film and politics. Despite internal contradictions that can be found on all levels of analysis, it can be argued with certainty that cinemagoing was not apolitical in the Third Reich and the Soviet Union. Even entertainment served ideological functions and in their use of music both the cinemas of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union made affective appeals on the level of national community. An historically informed analysis of the films in question reveals a number of attempts at harnessing the affective power of music for the political cause.

Filmography

d. *director*

s. *screenplay*

m. *music*

p. *producer*

p.c. *production company*

Aerograd, [*Aerograd*], d. Aleksandr Dovzhenko, s. Aleksandr Dovzhenko, m. Dmitriy Kabalevskiy, p.c. Mosfil'm and Ukrainfil'm (USSR and Ukraine, 1935).

Aleksandr Nevskiy [*Alexander Nevsky*], d. Sergey Eyzenshteyn, s. Sergey Eyzenshteyn and Pyotr Pavlenko, m. Sergey Prokof'ev, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1938).

Am Abend auf der Heide [*In the Evening on the Heath*], d. Jürgen von Alten, s. Thea von Harbou, m. Edmund Nick and Eldo Di Lazarro (songs), p.c. Cine-Allianz Tonfilm Produktion GmbH (Germany, 1941).

Amphitryon [*Amphitryon*], d. Reinhold Schünzel, s. Reinhold Schünzel, m. Franz Doelle, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1935).

Anna und Elizabeth [*Anna and Elisabeth*], d. Frank Wysber, s. Gina Fink, Frank Wysber, m. Paul Dessau, p. Frank Wysber, Hermann Ephraim, p.c. Kollektiv-Film GmbH and Terra Film AG (Germany, 1933).

Anton Ivanovich serditsya [*Anton Ivanovich is Angry*], d. Aleksandr Ivanovskiy, s. Georgiy Munblit, Yevgeniy Petrov, m. Dmitriy Kabalevskiy, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1941).

Arsenal [*The Arsenal*], d. Aleksandr Dovzhenko, s. Aleksandr Dovzhenko, p.c. VUFKU (USSR, 1929).

Bismarck [*Bismarck*], d. Wolfgang Liebeneiner, s. Rolf Lauckner, Wolfgang Liebeneiner, m. Norbert Schultze, p.c. Tobis-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1940).

Bogataya nevesta [*The Rich Bride*], d. Ivan Pïr'yev, s. Vladimir Dobrovolskiy, Evgeniy Pomeshchikov, m. Isaak Dunayevskiy, p.c. Ukrainfil'm (USSR, 1941).

Bronenosets Potyomkin [*The Battleship Potemkin*], d. Sergey Eyzenshteyn, co-d, Grigoriy Aleksandrov, s. Nina Agadzhanova, p.c. Goskino (USSR, 1925).

Capriccio [*Capriccio*], d. Karl Ritter, s. Felix Lützkendorf, Rudo Ritter, m. Alois Melichar, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1938).

Casablanca, d. Michael Curtiz, s. Julius J. Epstein, Philip G. Epstein, Howard Koch (on *Everybody Comes to Rick's* by Murray Burnett Joan Alison), m. Max Steiner, p.c. Warner Bros. (USA, 1942).

Chapayev [*Chapayev*], d. Georgiy and Sergey Vasil'ev, s. Georgiy and Sergey Vasil'ev, m. Gavriil Popov, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1934).

Charleys Tante [*Charley's Aunt*], d. Robert A. Stemmle, s. Robert A. Stemmle, m. Harald Böhmelt, p.c. Minerva-Tonfilm GmbH (Germany, 1934).

Chelovek s ruzh'yom [*Man with a Gun*], d. Sergey Yutkevich, d. Nikolay Pogodin, m. Dmitriy Shostakovich, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1938).

Confessions of a Nazi Spy, d. Anatole Litvak, s. Milton Krims and John Wexley, m. Max Steiner, p.c. Warner Bros. (USA, 1939).

Cowboy Canteen, d. Lew Landers, s. Paul Gangelin, m. John Leipold and Paul Sawtell, p.c. Columbia Pictures Corporation (USA, 1944).

Das Mädchen Irene [*The Girl Irene*], d. Reinhold Schünzel, s. Reinhold Schünzel and Eva Leidmann, m. Alois Melichar, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1936).

Der blaue Engel [*The Blue Angel*], d. Josef von Sternberg, s. Robert Liebmann and Karl Vollmoeller, m. Friedrich Hollaender, p. Erich Pommer, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1930).

Der Gefangene des Königs [*The King's Prisoner*], d. Carl Boese, s. Georg Hurdalek, m. Wolfgang Zeller, p.c. Bavaria Film AG (Germany, 1935).

Der große König [*The Great King*], d. Veit Harlan, s. Veit Harlan, m. Hans-Otto Borgmann, p.c. Tobis-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1942).

Der Herrscher [*The Ruler*], d. Veit Harlan, s. Thea von Harbou and Curt J. Braun, m. Wolfgang Zeller, p.c. Tobis-Magna-Filmproduktion GmbH (Germany, 1937).

Der Postmeister [*The Postmaster*], d. Gustav Ucicky, s. Gerhard Menzel, m. Willy Schmidt-Gentner, p. Karl Hartl, p.c. Wien-Film GmbH (Germany, 1940).

Deti kapitana Granta [*The Children of Captain Grant*], d. Vladimir Vaïnshtok, David Gutman, s. Oleg Leonidov (on the novel by Jules Verne), m. Isaak Dunayevskiy, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1936).

Dezertir [*The Deserter*], d. Vsevolod Pudovkin, s. M. Kasnostavskiy, m. Yuriy Shaporin, p.c. Mezhrabpomfil'm (USSR, 1933).

Die blonde Christl [*Blonde Christl*], d. Franz Seitz sen., s. Joseph Dalmann and Joe Stöckel, m. Toni Thoms, p.c. Tonfilm-Produktion Franz Seitz (Germany, 1933).

Die Drei von der Tankstelle [*The Three from the Filling Station*], d. Wilhelm Thiele, s. Franz Schulz and Paul Frank, m. Werner Richard Heymann, p. Erich Pommer, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1930).

Die goldene Stadt [*The Golden* City], d. Veit Harlan, s. Veit Harlan, Alfred Braun, m. Hans-Otto Borgmann, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1942).

Die große Liebe [*The Great Love*], d. Rolf Hansen, s. Peter Groll, Rolf Hansen, m. Michael Jary, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1942).

Der große König [*The Great King*] d. Veit Harlan, s. Veit Harlan, m. Hans-Otto Borgmann, p.c. Tobis-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1940).

Die Privatsekretärin [*The Private Secretary*], d. Wilhelm Thiele, s. Franz Schulz, m. Ludwig Lajtai, p.c. Greenbaum-Film GmbH (Germany, 1931).

Doctor Zhivago, d. David Lean, s. Robert Bolt (on the novel by Boris Pasternak), m. Maurice Jarre, p.c. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Carlo Ponti Production and Sostar S.A. (UK/Italy, 1965).

Ein blonder Traum [*A Blond Dream*], d. Paul Martin, s. Walter Reisch and Billy Wilder, m. Werner Richard Heymann, p. Erich Pommer, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1932).

Eine kleine Nachtmusik [*A Little Night Music*], d. Leopold Hainisch, s. Rolf Lauckner, m. Alois Melichar (on the works of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart), p.c. Tobis-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1939).

Eine kleine Sommermelodie [*A Little Summer Melody*], d. Volker von Collande, s. Horst Kerutt, Rolf Meyer, Ernst Keienburg, m. Norbert Schultze, p.c. Tobis-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1944).

Ein Windstoß [*A Gust of Wind*], d. Walter Felsenstein, s. Roland Schacht, Walter Felsenstein, m. Friedrich Schröder, p.c. Tobis-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1942).

Es leuchten die Sterne [*The Stars Shine*], d. Hans H. Zerlett, s. Hans H. Zerlett, m. Leo Leux, Paul Lincke, Mathias Perl, Ernst Kirsch, Franz R. Friedl, p.c. Tobis-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1938).

Es war eine rauschende Ballnacht [*It Was a Lovely Night at the Ball/The Life and Loves of Tchaikovsky*], d. Carl Froelich, s. Géza von Cziffra, m. Theo Mackeben (on the works of Peter Tchaikovsky), p.c. Tonfilmstudio Carl Froelick Co. (Germany, 1939).

Kontsert na Ekrane/Fil'm-Kontsert [*Concert on the Screen/Film-Concert*] d. Semyon Timoshenko, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1940)

Krest'iane [*Peasants*] d. Friedrich Ermler, s. Mikhail Bolshintsov, V. Portnov, Friedrich Ermler, m. Venedikt Pushkov, p.c. Lenfilm (USSR, 1935).

Fronttheatre [*Front Theatre*], d. Arthur Maria Rabenalt, s. Georg Hurdalek, Hans Fritz Köllner, Werner Plücker, m. Werner Bochmann, p.c. Terra-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1942).

Garmon' [*Accordion*], d. Igor Savchenko, s. A. Zharov, Igor Savchenko, m. Sergey Pototskiy, p.c. Mezhrabpomfil'm (USSR, 1934).

Glückskinder [*Lucky Kids*], d. Paul Martin, s. Robert A. Stemmle, Paul Martin, m. Peter Kreuder, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1936).

Groza [*The Storm*], d. Vladimir Petrov, s. Vladimir Petrov, m. Vladimir Shcherbachyov, p.c. Soyuzfil'm (USSR, 1934).

Hans Westmar [*Hans Westmar*], d. Franz Wenzler, s. Hanns Heinz Ewers, m. Giuseppe Becce, Ernst Hanfstängl, p. Robert Ernst, p.c. Volksdeutsche Film GmbH (Germany, 1933).

Hauptsache glücklich [*Happiness is the Main Thing*], d. Theo Lingen, s. Jochen Huth, Rudo Ritter, m. Werner Bochmann, p. Heinz Rühmann, p.c. Bavaria Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1941).

Heimat [Heimat], d. Hans H. Zerlett, s. Hans H. Zerlett, m. Theo Mackeben, p.c. Tonfilmstudio Carl Froelich Co. (Germany, 1938).

Heimkehr [*Homecoming*] d. Gustav Ucicky, s. Gerhard Menzel, m. Willy Schmidt-Gentner, Wein-Film GmbH (Austria, 1941).

Hitlerjunge Quex [*Hitler Youth Quex*], d. Hans Steinhoff, s. Karl Aloys Schenzinger, Bobby E. Lüthge, m. Hans Otto Borgmann, l. 'Unsere Fahne flatter uns voran' Baldur v. Schirach, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1933).

Hollywood Canteen, d. Delmer Daves, s. Delmer Daves, m.d. Leo F. Forbstein, p.c. Warner Bros. (USA, 1944).

Hotel Sacher [*Hotel Sacher*] d. Erich Engel, s. Stefan von Kamare and Friedrich Forster, m. Willy Schmidt-Gentner, p.c. Mondial – Internationale Filmindustrie AG (Austria, 1939).

Ich bei Tag und du bei Nacht [*I by Day and You by Night*], d. Ludwig Berger, s. Hans Székely and Robert Liebmann, m. Werner Richard Heymann, p. Erich Pommer, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1932).

Ich klage an [*I Accuse*], d. Wolfgang Liebeneiner, s. Eberhard Frowein, Wolfgang Liebeneiner, m. Norbert Schultze, p.c. Tobis-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1941).

Immensee [*Immensee*] d. Veit Harlan, s. Veit Harlan, Alfred Braun, m. Wolfgang Zeller, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1943).

Jud Süß [*Jew Süß*], d. Veit Harlan, s. Veit Harlan, Eberhard Wolfgang Möller, Ludwig Metzger, m. Wolfgang Zeller, p.c. Terra-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1940).

Kolberg [*Kolberg*], d. Veit Harlan, s. Alfred Braun, Veit Harlan, m. Norbert Schultze, p. Veit Harlan, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1945).

Kolïbel'naya [*Lullaby*], d. Dziga Vertov, m. Dmitriy Pokrass, Daniil Pokrass, p.c. Tsentral'naya studiya dokumental'nïkh fil'mov [Central Studio for Documentary Film], (USSR, 1937).

Krest'yane [*Peasants*], d. Fridrikh Ermler, s. Mikhail Bolshintsov and Fridrikh Ermler, m. Venedikt Pushkov, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1937).

Kubanskiye kazaki [*The Cossacks of Kuban*], d. Ivan Pïry'ev, s. Nikolay Pogodin, m. Isaak Dunayevskiy, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1949).

Kutuzov [*Kutuzov*], d. Vladimir Petrov, s. Vladimir Solovyov, m. Yuriy Shaporin, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1943).

Le Mélomane [The Melomaniac/The Music Lover], d. Georges Méliès, s. Georges Méliès, p.c. Star Film Company (USA, 1903).

Le Million [*The Million*, 1931] d. René Clair, s. René Clair, m. Armand Bernard, Philippe Parès, Georges Van Parys, p.c. Tobis Sound Company (France, 1930).

Lenin v 1918 godu [*Lenin in 1918*], d. Mikhail Romm, s. Aleksey Kapler and Tatyana Zlatogorova, m. Nikolay Kryukov, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1937).

Lenin v oktyabre [*Lenin in October*], d. Mikhail Romm, s. Aleksey Kapler, m. Anatoliy Aleksandrov, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1937).

Letchiki [*Flyers*], d. Yuliy Rayzman, s. Aleksandr Macheret, m. Nikolay Kryukov, p.c Mosfil'm (USSR, 1935).

Liebeskommando [*Love's Command*], d. Géza von Bolváry, s. Fritz Grünbaum, Alexander Roda-Roda, m. Robert Stolz, p.c. Super-Film GmbH (Germany, 1931).

Love Me Tonight, d. Rouben Mamaoulianm, s. Samuel Hoffenstein, George Marion Jr. and Waldemar Young, m. John Leipold (songs: m. Richard Rodgers, l. Lorenz Hart), p.c. Paramount Pictures (USA, 1932).

Marionetki [*Marionettes*], d. Yakov Protazanov and Porfiriy Podobed, s. Yakov Protazanov, m. Leonid Polovinkin, p.c. Mezhrabpomfil'm (USSR, 1934).

Menschen um Sturm [*People in the Storm*] d. Fritz Peter Buch, s. Georg Zoch, m. Wolfgang Zeller, Tobis-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1941).

Mï iz Kronshtadta [*We are from Kronstadt*], d. Efim Dzigan, s. Vsevolod Vishnevskiy, m. Nikolay Kryukov, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1936).

Muzïkal'naya istoriya [*A Musical Story*], d. Aleksandr Ivanovskiy, s. Georgiy Munblit and Yevgeniy Petrov, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1940).

Novïy Vavilon [*New Babylon*] d. Grigoriy Kozintsev and Leonid Trauberg, s. Grigoriy Kozintsev and Leonid Trauberg, m. Dmitriy Shostakovich, p.c. Sovkino (USSR, 1929).

Odna [*Alone*], d. Grigoriy Kozintsev and Leonid Trauberg, s. Grigoriy Kozintsev and Leonid Trauberg, m. Dmitriy Shostakovich, p.c. Soyuzkino (USSR, 1931).

Ohm Krüger [*Uncle* Krüger], d. Hans Steinhoff, s. Harald Bratt, Kurt Heuser, m. Theo Mackeben, p. Emil Jannings, p.c. Tobis-Filmkunst GmbH (Germany, 1941).

Okraina [*Outskirts/The Patriots*], d. Boris Barnet, s. Boris Barnet, Konstantin Finn, m. Sergey Vasilenko, p.c. Mezhrabpomfil'm (USSR, 1933).

Olympia – Fest der Völker [*Olympia - Festival of the Nations*] d. Leni Riefenstahl, s. Leni Riefenstahl and Willy Zielke, m. Herbert Windt, p.c. Olympia-Film GmbH (Germany, 1938).

Ona zashchishchayet rodinu [*She Defends the Motherland*], d. Fridrikh Ermler, s. Aleksey Kapler, m. Gavriil Popov, p.c. TsOKS, Alma-Ata (USSR, 1943).

Operette, d. Willi Forst, s. Willi Forst, Axel Eggebrecht, m. Willy Schmidt-Gentner, (variations on operetta melodies of Johann Strauss, Franz v. Suppe and Carl Millöcker), p. Willi Forst, p.c. Deutsche Forst-Filmproduktion GmbH for Wien-Film GmbH (Germany, 1940).

Opfergang [*The Sacrifice*], d. Veit Harlan, s. Veit Harlan, Alfred Braun, m. Hans-Otto Borgmann, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1944).

Pesn o Eroyakh/Komsomol [*Songs of Heroes*], d. Joris Ivens, s. Joris Ivens and Iosif Sklyut, m. Hans Eisler, p.c. Mezhrabpomfil'm (USSR, 1932).

Padenie Berlina [*The Fall of Berlin*] 2 parts, d. Mikhail Chiaureli, s. Mikhail Chiaureli, Pyotr Pavlenko, m. Dmitriy Shostakovich, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1950).

Podrugi [*Girlfriends*], d. Leo Arnshtam, s. Leo Arnshtam, m. Dmitriy Shostakovich, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1936).

Poruchik Kizhe [*Lieutenant Kizhe*], d. Aleksandr Fayntsimmer, s. Yuriy Tïnyanov, m. Sergey Prokof'ev, p.c. Belgoskino (USSR, 1934).

Prostïe lyudi [*Simple people*], d. Grigoriy Kozintsev and Leonid Trauberg, s. Grigoriy Kozintsev and Leonid Trauberg, m. Dmitriy Shostakovich, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1945), released in 1956.

Putyovka v zhizn' [*Road to Life*], d. Nikolay Ekk, s. Nikolay Ekk and Anton Makarenko, m. Yakov Stollyar, p.c. Mezhrapomfil'm (USSR, 1931).

Raduga [*The Rainbow*], d. Mark Donskoy, s. Vanda Vasilevskaya, m. Lev Schvartz, p.c. Kiev (USSR, 1944).

SA-Mann Brand [*Storm Trooper Brand*], d. Franz Seitz senior, s. Joseph Dalmann, Joe Stöckel, m. Toni Thoms, p. Franz Seitz senior, p.c. Bavaria-Film AG (Germany, 1933).

Schast'ye [*Happiness*], d. Aleksandr Medvedkin, s. Aleksandr Medvedkin, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1935).

Schlußakkord [*Final Chord*], d. Detlef Sierck (Douglas Sirk), s. Kurt Heuser, Detlef Sierck, m. Kurt Schröder, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1936).

Semero smelïkh [*The Courageous Seven/Seven Brave Men*], d. Sergey Gerasimov, s. Sergey Gerasimov and Yuri German, m. Venedikt Pushkov, p.c. Lenfil'm (USSR, 1936).

Shchors [*Shchors*], d. Aleksandr Dovzhenko and Yuliya Solntseva, s. Aleksandr Dovzhenko, m. Dmitriy Kabalevskiy, p.c. Kiev (USSR, 1939).

Simfoniya Donbassa [*The Donbass Symphony/Enthusiasm*], d. Dziga Vertov, s. Dziga Vertov, p.c. Ukrainfil'm (USSR, 1930).

Sous les toits de Paris [*Under the Rooftops of Paris*], d. René Clair, s. René Clair, m. Armand Bernard, Raoul Moretti (songs), René Nazelles (songs), (France, 1930).

Stage Door Canteen, d. Frank Borzage, s. Frank Borzage and Sol Lesser, m. Fred Rich, p.c. Sol Lesser Productions (USA, 1943).

Star Spangled Rhythm, d. George Marshall, s. Harry Tugend, m. Harold Arlen, p.c. Paramount Pictures (USA, 1942).

Stukas [*Dive Bombers*], d. Karl Ritter, s. Karl Ritter, Felix Lützkendorf, m. Herbert Windt, p.c. Universum-Film AG (Germany, 1941).

Suvorov [*Suvorov*], d. Vsevolod Pudovkin and Mikhail Doller, s. Grigoriy Grebner, Nikolay Ravich, m. Yuriy Shaporin, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1941).

Svetlïy Put' [*The Radiant Path*], d. Grigoriy Aleksandrov, s. Viktor Ardov, m. Isaak Dunayevskiy, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1940).

Tanz auf dem Vulkan [*Dance on the Volcano*], d. Hans Steinhoff, s. Hans Rehberg, Hans Steinhoff and Peter Hagen, m. Theo Mackeben, p.c. Majestic-Film GmbH (Germany, 1938).

Thank Your Lucky Stars, d. David Butler, s. Norman Panama and Melvin Frank, m. Heinz Roemheld, p.c. Warner Bros. (USA, 1943).

The English Patient, d. Anthony Minghella, s. Anthony Minghella (on the novel by Michael Ondaatje), m. Gabriel Yared, p.c. Tiger Moth Productions (USA, 1996).

Traktoristï [*Tractor Drivers*], d. Ivan Pïry'ev, s. Yevgeniy Pomeshchikov, m. Isaak Dunayevskiy, p.c. Mosfil'm (USSR, 1939).

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